

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01302137 3

HANDBOUND
AT THE



UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO PRESS



Lately published, for the Use of SCHOOLS.

Printed for the PROPRIETORS of this WORK.

I. **C**ORDERII Colloquiorum Centuria Selecta: Or, A Select Century of *Corderius's* Colloquies. With an *English* Translation as literal as possible; designed for the Use of Beginners in the *Latin* Tongue. By *John Clarke*, late Master of the Publick Grammar-School in *Hull*, and Author of the *Introduction to the Making of Latin*. The Twenty-fifth Edition. Price 1 s.

2. Fabulæ *Æsopi* Selectæ: Or, Select Fables of *Æsop*. With an *English* Translation more literal than any yet extant; designed for the readier Instruction of Beginners in the *Latin* Tongue. By *H. Clarke*, Master of the Publick Grammar-School at *Ilfrington*. Price 1 s.

3. Selectæ è Veteri Testamento Historiæ, ad usum eorum qui Latinè Linguæ rudimentis imbuuntur. Price 1 s. 6 d.

4. Selectæ è Profanis Scriptoribus Historiæ, quibus admista sunt varia honestè vivendi præcepta ex iisdem Scriptoribus deprompta. Price 2 s. 6 d.

5. *C. Julii Cæsaris* Commentaria de Bello Gallico; cum Versione Anglicanâ, in usum Scholarum: Or, *Cesar's* Commentaries of his War in Gaul; with an *English* Translation, for the Use of Schools. By the Rev. *Johnson Towers*, M. A. late Master of the Grammar-School at *Tunbridge*, in *Kent*. The Second Edition. Price bound 4 s. 6 d.

6. A New Grammar of the *Latin* Tongue, comprising all that is necessary for Grammar-Schools. To which is annexed A Dissertation upon Language. By the late Mr. *John Clarke*, of *Hull*. A new Edition. Price 1 s. 6 d.



Series Excellentium Virorum.

I.	M ILTIADES	Page 22
II.	THEMISTOCLES	34
III.	ARISTIDES	48
IV.	PAUSANIAS	51
V.	CIMON	59
VI.	LYSANDER	64
VII.	ALCIBIADES	69
VIII.	THRASYBULUS	85
IX.	CONON	90
X.	DION	97
XI.	IPHICRATES	109
XII.	CHABRIAS	113
XIII.	TIMOTHEUS	117
XIV.	DATAMES	122
XV.	EPAMINONDAS	136
XVI.	PELOPIDAS	149
XVII.	AGESILAUS	155
XVIII.	EUMENES	166
XIX.	PHOCION	182
XX.	TIMOLEON	186
XXI.	REGES	192
XXII.	HAMILCAR	196
XXIII.	HANNIBAL	200

Romanorum.

XXIV.	M. PORTIUS CATO	216
XXV.	T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS	222

CORNELII NEPOTIS V I T Æ

EXCELLENTIUM IMPERATORUM:

Cum Versiōe Anglicâ, in quâ Verbum de Verbo,
quantum fieri potuit, redditur:

Notis quoquē Anglicis, & INDICE Locupletissimo.

O R,

CORNELIUS NEPOS'S L I V E S

OF THE

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS.

With an *English* Translation, as Literal as possible.

With ENGLISH NOTES, and a large INDEX.

By J O H N C L A R K E,
Late Master of the Publick Grammar-School in Hull.

In Pursuance of the METHOD of teaching the LATIN
Tongue, laid down by him in his *Essay upon Education*.

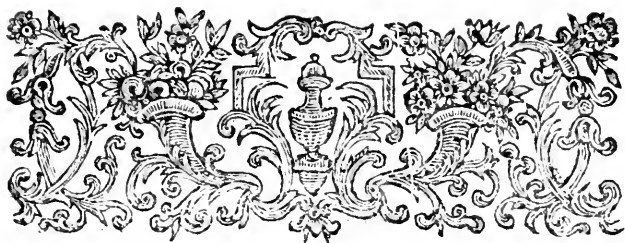
The FOURTEENTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, T. LONGMAN, B. LAW,
G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, S. BLADON, R. BALEWYN, J. BEW,
W. STUART, and G. and T. WILKIE.

M. DCC. XC.

$$\begin{array}{r} 10345 \\ \hline 2 \mid 12 \mid 90 \end{array}$$



T H E

P R E F A C E.



H O E V E R duly considers the vulgar Management of Youth in our Grammar-Schools, will, perhaps, see Cause to wonder, that amidst the noble Endeavours for the Advancement of Learning, a right Method of Education has been, in a Manner, wholly overlooked. Whilst the great Men in the Commonwealth of Letters have been busily and successfully employed in Improving and Carrying on the several Arts and Sciences, they have neglected, what was equally necessary, the Care of Youth : Had this been as duly attended to as the Importance of the Matter required, their Labours would have been of vastly more Use to Mankind. Grammars and Notes upon Authors we have in Abundance, indeed, and more by far than are good for any Thing ; yet these, where they are useful, are only so to such as have made a considerable Progress in the Latin Tongue. But Beginners are left wholly without any proper Helps ; nay, so far from being provided with them, that the World has hitherto been insensible of

of the Necessity of them. Our great Men have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice: There was more Fame and Credit to be got by writing for Men than Children, and therefore the latter have been strangely neglected.

As the Course of Life I have been engaged in has obliged me to turn my Thoughts this Way, I have some Time ago published my Notions as to this Matter in a little Treatise, entitled, *An Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools, where in the Usefulness and Necessity of Literal Translations of the easier Authors of the Latin Tongue, for the Use of Beginners, is pretty fully treated of.* A small Share of Sense and Consideration might, in my Opinion, be sufficient to convince any one of that Usefulness and Necessity: but if the Reader wants Satisfaction, I must refer him to that Treatise; for I care not to give myself the Trouble of repeating over again what I have there said. The Case is so very plain, and the Practice of our Schools so very absurd, that whatever Men may think now, I am of Opinion, Posterity, when the World is grown wiser with Respect to the Business of Education (if we may suppose any Memory of the present Method may be conveyed to future Generations) will be a little surprized at the Weakness of their Forefathers. And if Foreigners have in this Case no better Management amongst them than we have, the Want of Care and Thought in a Matter of such vast Importance as the Education of Youth undoubtedly is, is a Reproach to the Age we live in, and will, ere long, be thought so, whatever some inconsiderate People may now judge of the Matter.

The following Translation of Cornelius Nepos is almost every where literal, and therefore the Reader is not to expect the Language of it should be very smooth or polite. All, that know any Thing of the Latin Tongue, know how widely the Diction or Manner of Expression in that Language, differs from that of our own; and how hard it is, in a Translation from the Latin, to keep any Thing close to the Letter of the Original, without being barbarous or unintelligible. My English is, I hope, neither unintelligible, nor absolutely barbarous; but if it appears, here and there, somewhat awkward, stiff, or unfashionable, it was impossible it should be otherwise, without taking a Freedom utterly inconsistent with the Design.

This Performance is, in the first Place, and principally, intended for such Boys as are not able to read the Author at all without Help; and for such, if I have been so happy as to acquit myself but tolerably well in it, I am sure it will be very helpful, and save Abundance of Time that must otherwise be thrown away, in turning over the Leaves of a Dictionary, to little or no Purpose. The Notes are in English, because otherwise they would have been wholly useless to those for whose Benefit

Benefit they were chiefly intended. I have oftentimes wondered at the Fancy of loading the easier Classicks with a vast Number of Latin Notes, where those, that could read the Author at all, would but seldom want Help, and those, that could not, would be able to read the Notes no more than the Text. Though this be as plain as any Thing can be, yet the Jest of writing Latin Notes for Beginners has been carried so far, that a learned Irishman has muffled up poor Erasmus in his Colloquies with a large cumbersome Dress of this Kind. The same Gentleman will, perhaps, do as much in Time for Elop and Cordery; nay, he seems to lie under some Obligation to it, if he will go through stich with his Work, and render his Method of Education complete.

2. This Book is designed likewise for the Use of such, as, having got a pretty good Insight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Disuse have forgot it, are desirous to recover it again; which may be done with a great deal of Ease, by the Help of this, and some other Classick Authors, to be published in the same Manner. One Hour or two employed that Way every Day for a Year together, will bring such to read Prose with Ease and Pleasure; after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to understand by the Help of such Notes as they are published with. So that I am not wholly without Hopes, I may have done a Piece of acceptable Service to such Gentlemen, as are desirous to regain the Skill they had acquired in the Latin Tongue at School, but have since lost it. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out such a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary, that would require more Time, than any one in ten thousand either can or will spare: But in this Way of proceeding, the Regaining the Latin Tongue will be but a new Kind of Diversion, the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time, they need to employ that Way, is less than those, who are the most taken up with Business, usually spend upon their Pleasures. If such therefore shall think fit to encourage this Way of publishing the Classicks, I shall, if God give me Life and Health, take Care to supply them with such as are most proper for their Purpose, with all convenient Speed.

3. The Book is not only designed for the lower Forms in a School, to bring them readily and easily to the Reading of the Latin Prose Authors, but likewise for the higher Forms, and such as can read there pretty well, without any such Help, as well to bring them to a more compleat and perfect Acquaintance with them in the most expeditious Manner, as likewise to an Imitation of their Style, by rendering the Translation into the Original Latin of the Author. And indeed, I do not think there is any other Way to bring Boys at School to an

Thy

Thing of a tolerable Latin Style, but this. Constant Conversation, with a little Help from Grammar, is, in my Judgment, the best and most easy Method of attaining to a ready and proper Use of any Foreign Language. For very little can be done in the Way of Conversation at School. For to confine the Boys to the Talking of Latin amongst themselves, before they know any Thing almost of the Language, is ridiculous, and the most effectual Means, that could possibly be thought of, to prevent their ever speaking or writing it, with any tolerable Exactness and Propriety: The Speaking of a Language, any one has learned to speak pretty well, is the Way to be sure to retain it, as likewise to use it with greater Fluency and Freedom; but that is not what we are here enquiring after, but a Method of attaining a tolerable Propriety in the writing and speaking of Latin. This I never yet knew done, so much as in one single Instance, in any School, that has come within the Reach of my Knowledge, or indeed any Thing like it. Nay, I have talked with very ingenious Men, and good Judges, because Persons of considerable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing up of Boys at School to a true Latin Style wholly impracticable. Though I will not say so, yet it is certainly a Matter of very great Difficulty, and I question very much, whether any Method that can be taken with them, will be found generally successful, or in any reasonable Time, besides this I here recommend. All the Grammar, indeed, necessary for the Purpose, may easily be taught them; but when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is still behind, as every one is sensible, that knows any Thing of the Latin Tongue. A ready Use of proper Terms, or of proper Phrases or Forms of Expression upon all Occasions, seems hardly attainable in any reasonable Time, or the longest Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar Schools, but in the Method I propose. Literal Translations they are to begin with; and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of rendering Translations into the very original Latin of the Authors, they are to be advanced to Translations of greater Freedom, wherein the Propriety, Elegance, and Beauty of their English Tongue, is kept to with the strictest Regard. This Method of Proceeding is next to Conversation, and has, in one Respect, the Advantage of it; because they will thus be supplied with better Latin for their English, as oft as they want it, than any, even the greatest Masters of the Latin Tongue, could pretend to furnish them with in the Way of Conversation. And though I may, I believe, without Vanity, pretend to understand the Latin Tongue, as well as a great many of my Profession, yet I am not ashamed to own, that I expect to receive a great deal of Benefit myself, from this Way of using the Books I propose to publish according

ing to the present Model. It is certainly the most ready, expeditious Method that can be taken at School, to furnish the Mind with a Plenty of Words, and a Variety of Phrases and Expressions for the same Sense: And that without any Danger of Error, which the Use of Dictionaries and Phrase Books would be attended with: For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them, for the writing of Latin, but such as are good Judges in the Language, and are well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.

4. The Classics published in this Method will likewise be of great Use to such Foreigners, as understand Latin, and have a Mind to learn the English Tongue.

I would not have the Reader mistake my recommending the Use of literal Translations of the Classick Authours, for the several Purposes above-mentioned, as a Commendation of my present Performance. It was never so intended by me in the least. It may be very true, that the Classics, literally translated by a skilful Hand, may be highly useful upon all those Accounts; and yet as true that I am not equal to such an Undertaking. Whether I am or not must be left to the Judgment of the Learned, by whose Verdict I am content the Matter should be determined. But I am somewhat suspicious the Unlearned will be the most forward to censure: And perhaps a pert Undergraduate will be able to find more Faults in a single Life, than his Tutor in them all put together. But I am very little concerned about the Censure of such Sort of Worthies. The Esteem of Men of true Learning, Virtue, and Candour, I shall ever value above every Thing, but those noble Qualifications themselves; for the Sneers and Reflections of such as may be destitute of them, I despise them just as much as I value the former.

I must desire my Reader to take Notice, that such Words as I found necessary or convenient to insert in the Translation, either to render the Sense more clear, or the English smooth, and have none to answer them in the Original, are in a different Character.

If any one, otherwise satisfied with my Performance, but prejudiced against this Method of proceeding with Boys, (for there are unaccountable People in the World) will but please to make Trial of it for one Half Year, in which Time, at the worst, it can do no great Harm; if such a one does not find his Account in it very much to his own Satisfaction, he has my Consent to think and speak of me as hardly as he pleases, and the Nature of the Thing will justify: Let me pass with him for a Fool, who have given myself a great deal of Pains to no Purpose; I neither expect nor desire any Quarter. But if a Boy should be found to go effectually and successfully through the whole Book, in this Method, in less Time, than without the Help

here provided for him, he could possibly read a fourth Part of it, (to speak within Compass) I hope I may then be thought to deserve Thanks for what I have already done, and Encouragement for what I further design in the same Method.

I have prefixed to the *Lives* Gerard Vossius's Account of our Author. As I do not design it for the Reading of Boys at School by the Way of Lesson, but to gratify the Curiosity of such as may be desirous to know something of the Life and Character of the Author they read, many of whom may not be able to understand the Latin of Vossius, I have translated it with more Freedom than I was at Liberty to take with Cornelius Nepos. I shall in Time, if I meet with Encouragement, publish a *Classick* Author or two, with Translations of the like Kind with this of Nepos's Life.





GER. JOANNES VOSSIUS, GERARD VOSSIUS'S LIFE
 DE OF
 CORNELIO NEPOTE. CORNELIUS NEPOS.

✱✱✱✱ Ornelius Nepos
 ✱ C ✱ ✱ ✱ ante Cæsaris
 ✱ ✱ ✱ dictaturam, ✱
 ✱✱✱✱ eo dictatore, ✱
 ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱ postea, vixit.

Hieronymus in Chronico Eusebiano refert illum ad annum Augusti quartum. Nec cuiquam repugnem, colligenti inde tum demum divulgare ea cœpisse opera, quibus maximè inclaruit. Padi erat accola, teste Plinio lib. iii. cap. xviii. unde Catullo epigrammate primo, Italus; Aufonio autem epist. xxiv. Gallus vocatur: nempe quia Italia Transpadana diceretur Gallia Togata. De urbe aut patria quicquam se habere comperti, negat Elias Vinetus, in Aufon. Idyll. vii. At Veronensem fuisse, in Leandri Alberti Italiæ lego: uti ✱ in Cosmographiæ optimi atque amicissimi quondam viri, Pauli Merulae. Imò ex Veronensium historicorum syl- labo (quem doctissimus amplissimusque Alexander Bec- cellus, Veronensis Urbis Can- cellarius, fecit, ac illustris- simus Comes, Fernandus No- garola, vir ut genere, ita li- terarum

✱✱✱✱ Ornelius Nepos lived
 ✱ C ✱ ✱ ✱ before and under the
 ✱ ✱ ✱ Dictatorship of Ce-
 ✱✱✱✱ sar, and after it too.

Jerom in Eusebius's Chronicle places him under the fourth Year of Augustus's Reign. Nor shall I much dispute with any one, that may from thence pretend to infer, that he began at that Time to publish the Works, he was afterwards so very famous for. He lived nigh the Po, as appears from Pliny, B. 3. ch. 18. For which Reason he is called by Catullus, in his first Epigram, an Italian; and by Aufonius, in his 24th Epistle, a Gaul, because that Part of Italy beyond the Po was called Gallia Togata. Elias Vinetus, upon the 7th Idyllium of Aufonius, tells us, he was never able to make any Discovery as to the Place of his Nativity. But I find in Leander Albertus's Account of Italy, that he was a Native of Verona, as likewise in the Cosmography of that very worthy Gentleman, and formerly my very good Friend, Paul Merula. Nay, I further perceive, from a Collection of the Histo- rians of Verona, (which that very

serarum studio nobilissimus, cum v. cl. Laurentio Pignorio, atque is mecum communicavit, intelligo, natum fuisse Nepotem in Hostilia; qui Veronensium vicus est, Tacito, Plinio, Cassiodoro, & Antonino in Itinerario memoratus, hodieque Ecclesiasticæ Veronensium jurisdictioni subditus. Historicus hic Ciceronis amicus familiaris à Gellio vocatur, lib. xv. cap. 28. Chronica scripsisse, testis & idem Gellius, lib. xxvi. cap. xxi. In his, pro triplici tempore, ἀρχαῖον, μεσικόν καὶ ἰσοκρινόν (de quibus ex Varrone, & aliis, libro de arte historica diximus) tres videtur scripsisse libros; ac singulis unius temporis narrationem esse complexus. Sanè tres libros fecisse Nepotem, quibus omne ævum comprehenderit, liquiddò testatur Catullus initio Hendecasyllaborum. Nec historicum tempus ab eo solum esse tractatum, indicio est illud Ausonii: Apologos Titiani, & Nepotis Chronica, quasi alios apologos (nam & ipsa instar fabularum sunt) ad nobilitatem tuam misi. Item ex eo, quod Tertullianus in Apologetico adversus gentes (ubi eum inter antiquitatum commentatores disertim reponit) dicit, haud aliud Saturnum, quàm hominem, promulgasse. Quod etiam Laetantius tradit, lib. i. cap. xiii. Reliquit præterea libros illustrium virorum, quorum Gellius

very learned and honourable Person Alexander Becellus, Chancellor of Verona, made, and the most illustrious Count Fernand Nogarola, a Gentleman as considerable for his Learning as Quality, communicated to the famous Laurentius Pignorius, from whom I had the Favour of a Sight of it; I perceive, (I say) that Nepes was born in Hostilia, which is a Village in the Territory of Verona, mentioned by Tacitus, Pliny, Cassiodorus, and Antoninus in his Itinerary, and is at this Day subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Verona. Our Historian is called by Gellius, B. 15. ch. 28. an intimate Friend of Cicero, and that he wrote a Chronicle, we have the Testimony of the same Gellius, B. 26. chap. 21. And agreeably to that triple Division of Time into Uncertain, Fabulous, and Historical, (of which I have given an Account out of Varro and others, in my Treatise of the Art of writing History) he seems to have divided it into three Books, and, in each of these, to have comprised a Narrative of each respective Time. For, that Nepes wrote three Books, in which he comprehended the whole Series of Time, Catullus, in the Beginning of his Hendecasyllaba, declares in express Terms; and that the historical Time was not the sole Subject of his Chronicle appears pretty plainly, from this Passage in Ausonius: *I have sent to your Highness the Apologues of Titian, and Nepes's*

lius meminit, lib. xi. cap. viii. & Servius in 1 Æn. Eorum librum i. xv. & xvi. citat Charifus. Ex his habemus viginti duos exterarum gentium imperatores. Cæteris libris egisse de Romanis hæc ejus verba ostendunt in extrema Hannibalis vitâ: Sed nos tempus est hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint, possit judicari. Operis ejus genuina inscriptio patet ex ultimis hisce præfationis verbis; Quare ad propositum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro Vitas Excellentium Imperatorum. Præter Imperatores seorsum exarâsse librum de Regibus, argumento hæc erunt, quæ Timoleonis vitæ subdit: Hi fere fuere Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges; namque eos attingere nolimus, quod omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: Neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Externi imperatores, quos habemus, Æmilii esse Probi, à multis creduntur. Qui error inde provenit, quod librario id fuerit nomen, qui vitas eas partim suâ partim patris & matris manu scriptas, Theodosio obtulit. Hoc ita esse, ostendunt versiculi, qui vitis istis præmitti in MSS. solent.

Ac

Nepos's Chronicle, as containing another Set of Apologues (for they are indeed no better than Fables) as likewise shew what Tertullian in his Apology against the Gentiles (when he expressly reckons him amongst the Writers of Antiquities) says, that he made Saturn to be no more than a Man. Which Account Laëtantius likewise gives of him, B. 1. ch. 13. He left besides the Lives of several illustrious Men, which Gellius makes mention of, B. 11. ch. 8. and Servius on the first Æneid. Charifus quotes the 1st, 15th, and 16th Book; of these we have 22 Commanders of Foreign Nations. And that in his other Books he treated of the Romans, these Words of his in the latter End of Hannibal's Life sufficiently shew: But it is now Time for us to put an End to this Book, and give you the Lives of the Roman Commanders, that, by comparing the Actions of both, the Readers may judge which ought to have the Preference. The proper Title to this Work appears plainly from these concluding Words in his Preface: Wherefore we shall now proceed to the Execution of our Design, and in this Book give an Account of the Lives of the excellent Commanders. That he wrote the Lives of several Kings, besides these Commanders, is plain from the Words following the Life of Timoleon: These were in a manner all the Greek Commanders worth our Notice, besides Kings; for we had no Design of meddling with

Ac ne Æmilium, nec Theodosiani ævi quenkum, eorum esse librorum auctorem, abunde arguit pura & Romana dictio. Opinetur aliquis, ut Trogus ab Justino, ita ab Æmilio, qui sub Theodosio vixit, in compendium esse redactum Nepotem: Sed aliud sualet operis concinnitas, & illa præfandi ratio, quæ est in Epaminondæ vitâ, ac in Pelopidâ imprimis, ubi brevitatem justam pollicetur. Attamen sententia hæc, licet erronea, minus periculi habeat, dummodo extra controversiam maneat, Æmilium omnia de purissimis Nepotis fontibus hausisse. Sane Tulliani est ævi scriptorem, neq; alium quàm Nepotem; tum veterum aliquot librorum indicio cognoscitur; tum etiam, quod ad Pomponium Atticum (cujus idem rogatu de vitâ Cætonis librum fecit) vitæ istæ scribantur: utriusque id in quarto miscellaneorum suorum neget Hieronymus Magius; qui ipsâ Nepotis præfatione satis refellitur. Accedit & altera ratio. Nam his in libris ea legere est, quæ epus hoc scriptum esse clamant, quo tempore Pompeius & Cæsar plus poterant, quam liberâ in Rep. expediret. Ea Lambinus loca congeffit, ut nihil atineat illa hic reponere. Nec libris istis de viris illustribus solum persecutus est excellentes

with them, having already written their Lives by themselves: And they are not indeed many in Number. The foreign Commanders, we have, are thought by many to be the Work of Æmilius Probus. The Occasion of which Mistake was, that the Librarian was so called, who presented the Emperor Theodosius with these Lives, written in Part by himself, and Part by his Father and Mother: That this is so, is evident from the Verses, which in the Manuscript Copies are usually prefixed to these Lives. But the Purity of the Diction, which is truly Roman, sufficiently proves, that neither their Æmilius, nor any one else in the Days of Theodosius, was the Author of these Books. Some perhaps may think, that as Trogus was abridged by Justin, so was Nepos too by this Æmilius, who lived in the Times of Theodosius: But the Neatness of the Work, and what he says in entering upon the Life of Epaminondas, and that of Pelopidas especially, where he promises to be concise, will not allow us to think so. But however, this Opinion, though erroneous, is of no dangerous Consequence, so long as it is beyond all Dispute, that Æmilius took every Thing from Nepos. And indeed, that the Writer was contemporary with Tully, and no other than Nepos, appears sufficiently, as well from the Testimony of some old Authors, as the Dedication of the Work to Pomponius Atticus, at whose Request

lentes imperatores: sed etiam commentationibus clares. Quid argumentum signat. Hieronymus, præfatione de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ubi Nepotem inter eos refert, quorum exemplo æturus sit de iis, qui scribendo claruerunt. Egit autem Nepos, tum de Græcis auctoribus; tum de Latinis. De Græcis, colligo inde, quod in Dionis vitâ dicat, librum se fecisse de illustribus historicis: in quo inter alia tractarit de Philisto historico. De Latinis, argumento sunt plurima. Nam de Terentio egisse, ex Suetonio scimus in Terentii vitâ, Donato perperam tributâ. Adhæc primum de vitâ Ciceronis librum Gellius citat lib. xv. cap. xxviii. Eoque ex opere fragmentum Hieronymus addert epist. ad Panmachium. Imo verisimile est, inde esse, tum vitam T. Pomponii Attici, quæ exstat, tum vitam Catonis, quam ipsis claudit verbis: Hujus de vitâ, & moribus, plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici, Quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus: Aperitè indicat, eò nunc de Catone brevius se agere, quia separatim de eodem scripserit. Ergo vita illa Catonis, quam paucis perstrictam habemus, majoris

quest the same Person wrote the Life of Cato, notwithstanding Hieronymus Magius denies it in the 4th Book of his Miscellanies, who is sufficiently confuted by the very Preface of Nepos. We have likewise another Proof of it: For several Passages in the Book most plainly evince, that it was written at the Time when the Power of Pompey and Cesar was grown to a Height dangerous to the public Liberty. Lambinus has collected the Passages to that Purpose, and therefore I need not produce them here. Nor in his Lives of Illustrious Men did he confine himself to such alone as excelled in the Military Way; but likewise took in those that had rendered themselves famous by their Writings, as appears from Jerom's Preface to his Account of the Ecclesiastical Writers, where he reckons Nepos among the Precedents he should follow in his Account of such as had been famous for Writing. Nepos treated as well of the Greek as the Latin Authors. As to the Greek, I go upon what he says in the Life of Dion, where he tells us he had written a Book of the most considerable Historians, in which, amongst others, he had given an Account of Philistus the Historian. As to the Latin Authors, it is many Ways evident: For we learn from Suetonius's Life of Terence, falsely ascribed to Donatus, that he had given an Account of that Author. Gellius too quotes the first Book of the Life of Cicero, in the 28th

ch,

ris pars est voluminis, in quo Romanorum complurium vitæ continerentur. Et sanè in antiquissimo codice Oberti Gifanii ante vitam Attici legebantur hæc verba: Ex libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis historicis. Reliquit etiam Exemplorum libros, quos citant Gellius, lib. vii. cap. 18. & Charisius, lib. i. Alia quoque ejusdem laudant veteres, sed non item quæ ad historiam pertinent. Nam ex epistola ejus ad Ciceronem quædam Lactantius adfert, lib. iii. Instit. Divin. cap. 15. Quomodo & Ciceronis vel Nepotem epistolæ meminit Tranquillus in Julio, cap. iv. Ammianus Marcellinus initio libri xxv. ac Priscianus lib. viii. Imò & secundum Ciceronis epistolarum librum ad Nepotem Macrobius citat lib. ii. Saturn. cap. 1. Quod si quis fragmenta omnia Nepotis desideret, longè iis colligendis priorum vicit industriam Andreas Schottus. Hermolaus Barbarus, castigationibus in Plinii, lib. xv. cap. xxix. censet libellum de viris illustribus, qui Plinio tribui solet, Cornelii Nepotis esse haud Plinii, atque id veteribus codd. adstrui posse asseverat. Etiam Jam hæc Parrhasii sententia fuit. Utrius sit, dubitari ait Vinetus, nec

ch. of his 15th B. And Jerom, in his Epistle to Pammachius, produces a Quotation from that Work. Nay, it is likely that the Life we have of T. Pomponius Atticus was taken from thence, as well as that of Cato, which he closes with these Words: We have given a larger Account of his Life and Behaviour in that Book we published of him alone, which those, that are desirous to be more fully acquainted with Cato, may consult, if they please. He plainly declares the Reason, why the Account he there gives of Cato is so brief, to be his having published his Life by itself before. Wherefore the short Life of Cato we have is the Part of a bigger Volume, wherein were contained the Lives of several other Romans. And indeed the following Words were read in a most ancient Book of Obertus Gifanius before the Life of Atticus: From Cornelius Nepos's Book of the Latin Historians. He left behind him likewise Books of Examples, which Gellius quotes, B. 7. ch. 18. and Charisius, B. 1. The Ancients commend other Works of his too that were not historical. For Lactantius produces something out of an Epistle of his to Cicero, in the 15th Chap. of the 3d Book of his Divine Institutions; as Tranquillus, in the 55th Chapter of Julius Cesar's Life, makes mention of an Epistle of Cicero's to Nepos; as do likewise Ammianus Marcellinus in the Beginning of the 25th Book, and Priscian, B. viii. Macrobius too, B. 2. ch. 1. of his Saturnalia, quotes

et de re statuere quicquam ausus est. Imò aliqui, aut Suetonium, aut Tacitum esse auctorem putarunt: ut indicat Gyraldus dialogismo xxvi. Sed omnino sunt Sexti Aurelii Victoris; ut satis nunc constat ex editione Andree Schotti. Non dubito interim, quin pleraque ex Nepote Victor desumerit. Nam quod Ludovicus Vives, lib. v. de Tradendis Disciplinis, Nepotem ait de Græcis solum ducibus scripsisse; id satis refellitur verbis Nepotis antea adductis. Vir doctissimus, Jo. Maria Catanæus, commentario in Plinii librum iv. epist. xxviii. quæ ad Severum scripta est, etiam Daretum Phrygium à Nepote translatum arbitratur. Nempe decepit eum vulgaris ἐπιτομή. Attamen & hic aqua hæret Vinea, notis in Aïson. Idyll. vii. Negat esse, qui certi aliquid de translatione hac ausit affirmare. Atqui omnes, quibus ullum in hisce literis iudicium est, satis vident, nec Daretum illum esse genuinum, nec dictionem ejus Augustæam sapere ætatem; sed recentiorum multò. Nepotem autem Cæs. Augusti obiisse ævo, Plinius testatur, lib. ix. cap. xxxix. Atque hoc fortasse impulit Genebrardum, ut putaret eum nato jam Christo supersitum fuisse: qui & facit Gualterium cum primùm

quotes the 2d Book of Cicero's Epistles to Nepos. But if any one has a Fancy to see all the Fragments of Nepos, Andreas Schottus has in his Collection of them far exceeded the Industry of all that went before him. Hermolaus Barbarus, in his Emendations upon Pliny, B. 15. ch. 29, thinks that the Book of illustrious Men, which is usually ascribed to Pliny, is Cornelius Nepos's, and not Pliny's; and pretends to say, that the Thing may be proved from old Manuscripts; which likewise was the Opinion of Janus Parrhasius. Vinetus says, it is doubted which of them was the Author, and durst not take upon him to determine the Point. Nay, some have been of Opinion, that Suetonius or Tacitus was the Author, as Gyraldus informs us in his 26th Dialogue; but it is certainly Sextus Aurelius Victor's, as is now sufficiently manifest, from the Edition of Andreas Schottus. I doubt not however, but he borrowed most of what he had from Nepos. For what Ludovicus Vives says, in his 5th Book *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, that Nepos wrote only of the Grecian Generals, is sufficiently confuted by the Words of Nepos quoted above. A very learned Gentleman, John Maria of Catana, in his Commentary upon the 28th ch. of the 4th Book of Pliny's Epistles, which was written to Severus, says, that Dares Phrygius was translated by Nepos. The vulgar Title, it seems, deceived him. Yet here again Vinetus is at a Loss,

mum tabulas ederet Chronographicas, in eam sententiam pertraxit. Sed Nepotem eò usque ætatem prorogasse, nemo temerè dixerit, qui tanti eum in literis nominis, jam Tullii, Attici, Catulii temporibus, fuisse cogitavit.

and pretends to say that whether that Translation was Nepos's, or not, cannot with any Degree of Certainty be determined. But all, that have any thing of Taste in this Kind of Literature, see plainly, that Dares is a spurious Piece, and that the Style is nothing like that of the Age of Augustus; but is much later. But Pliny informs us, B. 9, ch. 39. that Nepos died in Augustus's Reign. And it was this perhaps made Genebrard think that Nepos was living at the Birth of Christ, who likewise drew over James Gualterius, when he first published his Chronological Tables, to his Opinion. But scarcely any one will pretend to say, that Nepos lived till that Time, who considers, that he was a Person who made a considerable Figure for Learning in the Days of Tully, Atticus, and Catullus.





CORNELII NEPOTIS CORNELIUS NEPOS:

Excellentium Imperatorum

L I V E S

V I T Æ,

OF THE

A D

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS,

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

To T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

Auctoris PRÆFATIO.

The Author's PREFACE.

NON dubito fore
 N plerosque, Attice,
 qui hoc genus
 scripturæ leve &
 non satis dignum
 summorum virorum personis
 judicent; quum relatum le-
 gent, quis musicam docu-
 erit Epaminondam; aut in
 ejus virtutibus commemorari,
 saltasse eum commode, scien-
 terque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi
 erunt ferè, qui expertes lite-
 rarum Græcarum, nihil rec-
 tum, nisi quod ipsorum mo-
 ribus conveniat, putabunt.
 Hi si didicerint, non eadem
 omnibus honesta atq; turpia,
 sed omnia majorum institu-
 tis judicari; non admirabun-
 tur, nos in Græcorum virtuti-
 bus

Doubt not there will
 I be a great many,
 Atticus, who will
 judge this Way of
 Writing too light,
 and not sufficiently adapted to the
 Characters of these great Per-
 sons, when they find it related,
 who taught Epaminondas Musick,
 or reckoned among his Qua-
 lities, that he danced handsomely,
 and played well upon the Flute.
 But these will be generally such,
 as being unacquainted with the
 Greek Language, will think no-
 thing right but what is agreeable
 to their own Fashions. If these
 People understood once, that the
 same things are not honourable
 and scandalous with all People;
 but that all Things are judged

bus exponendis mores eorum secutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam habere in matrimonio; quippe quum cives ejus eodem uterentur instituto: at id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis quam plurimos habere amatores. Nulla Lacedæmoni tam est nobilis vidua, quæ non ad scenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Græcia, victorem Olympiæ citari. In scenam vero prodire, & populo esse spectaculo, nemini in eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur. Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quæ apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Græciâ; nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum; neque sedet

*of by the Usages of our Forefathers; they will not wonder that we, in relating the noble Qualifications of the Greeks, have followed their Fashions. For it was not scandalous in Cimon, a very great Man amongst the Athenians, to have his * own Sister in Marriage, because his Countrymen used the same Custom? But that is accounted unlawful, according to our Usage. It is reckoned a mighty Commendation in Greece for young Men to have a great many Lovers. There is no Widow so noble at Lacedæmon, that will not go upon the stage, if hired with a valuable Consideration. It was reckoned amongst the greatest Glories to be proclaimed a Conqueror at † Olympia; but to appear upon the Stage, and to be a Spectacle to the People, was a Scandal to nobody in the same Nations. All which Things are reckoned with us partly infamous, partly mean, and far from honourable. On the other hand, a great many Things in our Customs are decent, which are thought scandalous amongst them. For which of the Romans is ashamed to bring his Wife to a Feast? Or whose Wife has not the first Room*

* That is, by the same Father, but not the same Mother, as appears from our Author himself in the Life of Cimon.

† Olympia is a town of Elis, in the West Parts of Peloponnesus, famous for the Games celebrated there every four years, by a great Concourse of People from all the Parts of Greece, and other Places; and the Persons victorious therein were received, upon their Return into their own Country, with the greatest Honours. These Games were instituted in the Year before Christ 776.

sedet nisi interiore parte ædium, que γυναικίσις appellatur : quò nemo accedit, nisi propinquà cognatione conjunctus. Sed plura persequi tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea explicem quæ exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro vitas excellentium imperatorum.

Room in the House, and converses with Company? Which is quite otherwise in Greece; for she is neither admitted to a Feast, unless of Relations; nor sits but in the inner Part of the House, which is called the Womens Apartment, whither nobody comes, unless allied to her by near Relation. But both the Smallness of the intended Volume, and also the Haste I am in to relate the Things I have undertaken, permit me not to say more to this Point. Wherefore we shall come to our Purpose, and relate in this Book the Lives of the excellent Commanders.





I.

MILTIADES, Cimonis
Filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

Miltiades, Cimonis
filius Athenien-
fis, quum & an-
tiquitate generis,
& gloriâ majo-
rum, & suâ modestiâ, unus
omnium maxime floreret;
câque esset ætate, ut non jam
solum de eo benè sperare, sed
etiam confidere cives possent
sui, talem futurum qualem
cognitum judicarunt; accidit
ut Athenienses Chersonesum
colonos vellent mittere. Cujus
generis quum magnus nume-
rus esset, & multi ejus demi-
grationis peterent societatem:
ex his delecti Delphos
* deliberatum missi sunt,
qui

I.

MILTIADES, the Son
of Cimon, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

HEN Miltiades,
the Son of Cimon the
Athenian, made of
all others the greatest
Figure, both for the
Antiquity of his Family, and the
Glory of his Ancestors, and his
own Modesty; and was of that
Age, that his Countrymen might
now not only hope well of him,
but even assure themselves, he
would be such an one as they
judged him upon Trial; it hap-
pened that the Athenians had a
Mind to send a Colony to the †
Chersonese. Of which Kind of
People, as there was a great
Number, and many desired a
Share in this Expedition; some
chosen

* The Word *deliberatum* being taken here in an uncommon Sense, those that follow, *viz qui consulerent Apollinem* seem to have been put in the Margin by somebody to explain the Meaning of *delibera- tum*, and thence, through the Heedlessness of some Copiers of Books, to have crept into the Text; for without this Supposition, it will be hard, I doubt, to excuse our Author from being guilty of an insipid Tautology.

† Chersonese is a Word originally Greek, signifying the same with *Peninsula* in Latin; that is, a Place almost surrounded with Water. The Chersonese here meant was a Part of Thrace, lying along the Hellespont.

qui consulerent Apollinem, quo potissimum duce uterentur. Nam tum Thraces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia præcepit, ut Miltiadem sibi imperatorem sumerent: Id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura. Hoc oraculi responso, Miltiades, cum delectâ manu, classe Chersonesum profectus, cum accessisset Lemnum, & incolas ejus insulæ sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensium, idque ut Lemni suâ sponte facerent, postulâisset; illi irridentes responderunt, Tum id se facturos, quum ille, domo navibus proficiscens, vento Aquilone venisset Lemnum: hic enim ventus à septentrionibus oriens, adversum tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades, morandi tempus non habens, cursum direxit quò tendebat,

*chosen from amongst them, were sent to consult the * Oracle, what Leader they should above others make use of. For the Thracians, at that Time, had Possession of those Parts, with whom they were to fight for it with Arms. The Pythonefs did expressly order those that consulted her, to take Miltiades to them as their Commander: If they did that, their Undertakings would be successful. Upon this Answer of the Oracle, Miltiades, with a choice Body of Men, going for the Chersonese with a Fleet, after he was come up to † Lemnus, and desirous to reduce the Inhabitants of that Island under the Power of the Athenians, had demanded, that the Lemnians would do that of their own Accord; they bantering him replied, That they would then do it, when he, coming by Ship from home, should arrive at Lemnus with the Wind called Aquilo. For this Wind arising from the North is full against those that come*

* The Oracles, of which such frequent Mention is made in the Writings of the Ancients, were Answers given in the Temples of their Gods, to Queries about future Events, by the Priest, or sometimes by a Priestess, as here, and commonly in Verse. Though these in the Main were nothing but pure Imposture carried on by the Roguery of the Priests, in the Name of the Gods; yet there are some Answers upon Record so very surprising, as give Ground to suspect, that Evil Spirits were suffered sometimes to interpose. The Greeks scarcely ever undertook any Business of Importance, without consulting their Oracle at Delphos, which was famous even in foreign Countries. Delphos was a Town in Achaia, not far from the Corinthian Bay.

† Lemnus is an Island in the North Parts of the Ægean Sea.

bat, pervenitque Chersonesum.

CAP. II. Ibi brevi tempore, Barbarorum copiis disiectis, totâ regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communivit: multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit, crebrique excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minus in eâ re prudentiâ quàm felicitate, adjutus est: nam quum virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summâ æquitate res constituit; atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regiâ, quamvis carebat nomine: neq; id majus imperio quàm justitiâ consecutus. Neque eo secius Atheniensibus, à quibus erat profectus, officia præstabat. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minus eorum voluntate perpetuo imperium obtineret, qui miserant, quam illorum cum quibus erat profectus. Chersoneso tali modo constituta, Lemnum revertitur: & ex pacto, postulat, ut sibi urbem tradant: Illi enim dixerant, quum vento Boreâ domo profectus, cò pervenisset, sese dedituros; se autem domum Chersonesi habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi præter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secundâ fortuna adversariorum capti, resistere ausi non sunt,

come from Athens. Miltiades, having no Time to stay, steered on his Course to the Place he was bound for, and came to the Chersonese.

CHAP. II. *There, in a short Time, the Forces of the Barbarians being routed, having made himself Master of all the Country he went for, he fortified Places proper for Castles; settled the People which he had carried along with him, in the Lands, and enriched them by frequent Excursions. Nor was he less assisted in that Matter by good Conduct, than good Fortune: For after he had, by the Bravery of his Soldiers, routed the Enemy's Armies, he settled Affairs with the greatest Equity, and resolved to continue in the same Place himself. For he was amongst them invested with regal Authority, though he wanted the Name. Nor did he compass that more by his Command in this Expedition, than his Justice. Nor did he the less perform all Offices of due Subjection to the Athenians from whom he had gone. By which means it came to pass, that he held the Government without Interruption, no less by the Consent of those who had sent him, than of those with whom he had gone. Having thus settled the Chersonese, he returns to Lemnus, and demands, according to their Promise, that they should surrender up the City to him: For they had said, that when coming from Home with a North Wind, he arrived there, they would surrender; but that he now had his Home*

sunt, atque ex insulâ demi-grârunt. Pari felicitate cæteras insulas, quæ Cyclades nominantur, sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

at the Chersonese. The * Carians, who at that Time inhabited Lemnus, although the Business had happened contrary to their Expectation, yet being not moved by their Promise, but the good Fortune of their Adversaries, durst not resist, and removed out of the Island. With the like good Fortune he reduced the other Islands, which are called Cyclades, under the Power of the Athenians.

CAP. III. Eisdem temporibus Persarum rex Darius, ex Asiâ in Europam exercitu trajecto, Scythis bellum inferre decrevit: pontem fecit in Istro flumine, quâ copias traduceret. Ejus pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit principes quos secum ex Ioniâ & Æoliâ duxerat: quibus singulis ipsarum urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim putavit facillime se Græcâ linguâ loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent, sub suâ retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset: quibus, se oppresso, nulla spes salutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades, cui illa custodia crederetur. Hic, quum crebri as-

CHAP. III. About the same Time Darius, King of the Persians, drawing an army over out of Asia into Europe, resolved to make War upon the † Scythians. He made a Bridge upon the River Isther, by which to draw his Troops over. He left the Princes, which he had brought along with him from § Ionia and Æolis, Keepers of that Bridge, whilst he was away; to each of which he had given the perpetual Sovereignty of their several Cities. For thus he thought he should most easily keep under his Subjection such as spoke the Greek Tongue, that inhabited Asia, if he delivered up those Cities to be maintained by his Friends, to whom no Hope of Security would be left if he was conquered. Miltiades was then in this Number, to whom that Guard of the Bridge was

D

entrusted.

* The Carians were a People in the South-West Parts of Asia Minor. Their Country was called Caria.

† The Inhabitants of the North of Europe and Asia were formerly called Scythians.

§ Ionia and Æolis were Countries of Asia Minor, lying along the Coasts of the Ægean Sea.

ferrent nuncii malè rem gerere Darium, premique ab Scythis; Miltiades hortatus est pontis custodes, ne à fortunâ datam occasionem libera dæ Græciæ dimitterent: Nam si cum iis copiis, quas secum transportaverat interisset Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent, Græci genere, liberos à Persarum futuros dominatione & periculo. Id & facillè effici posse: ponte enim rescisso, regem vel hostium ferro vel inopiâ paucis diebus interitum. Ad hoc consilium quum plerique accederent, Histieus Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens, non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire & multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum interetur dominatio: Quo extincto ipsos potestate expullos civibus suis pœnas daturos. Itaque edocè se abhorrire à cæterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius, quàm confirmari regnum Persarum. Hujus quum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades non dubitans, tam multis consiliis, ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit, ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cujus ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda, quin amicior omnium libertati, quam fuzæ fuerit dominationi.

entrusted. Here, when frequent Messengers brought Word, that Darius managed his Business but badly, and was hard put to it by the Scythians; Miltiades advised the Keepers of the Bridge, that they would not slip an Opportunity of delivering Greece given them by Fortune: For, if Darius should perish with the Army which he had carried over with him, not only Europe would be safe, but likewise those who, being Greeks by Original, inhabited Asia, would be free from the Dominion of the Persians, and all Danger. And that that might easily be effected; for the Bridge being cut down, the King would in a few Days perish, either by the Enemy's Sword, or Want. When most of them came into this Advice, Histieus the Milesian opposed the Business, that the Thing was not done, saying, that the same Thing was not expedient for them who had the Sovereignty of their Cities, and the People; that their Authority depended upon the Kingdom of Darius; which being destroyed, that they being disposed from their Office, would be punished by their Subjects. Wherefore he was so far from agreeing to the Counsel of the rest, that he thought nothing was more advantageous to them, than the Establishment of the Kingdom of the Persians. As most of them followed his Advice, Miltiades not doubting, so many being privy to the Matter, that his Counsels would come to the King's Ears, quitted the Chersonese, and again removed

removed to Athens: Whose Advice, though it did not prevail, yet is mightily to be commended, since he was more a Friend to the Liberty of all, than his own Authority.

CAP. IV. Daries autem, quum ex Europâ in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Græciam in suam redigeret potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit, eique Datim præfecit & Artaphernem: hisque ducenta peditum millia, & decem equitum dedit, causam interferens, se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardes expugnassent, suæque præsidia interfecissent. Prædicti regii, classe ad Eubœam appulsâ, celeriter Eretriam ceperunt, omnesque ejus gentis cives abreptos, in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Attisam accesserunt, ac suas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is abest ab oppido circiter millia passuum decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo, tamque magno permoti, auxilium nusquam nisi

a

CHAP. IV. But Darius, after he had returned out of Europe into Asia, his Friends advising him to it, that he might reduce Greece under his Authority, fitted out a Fleet of five hundred Ships, and set Datiss and Artaphernes over it, and gave them two hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse; alledging this Reason, That he was an Enemy to the Athenians, because by their Assistance, * the Ionians had taken † Sardis, and cut off his Garrison. These Admirals of the King, having brought up their Fleet to ‡ Eubœa, quickly took Eretria, and sent all the Natives of that Nation, being taken from thence, into Asia to the King. After that they came to § Attica, and drew out their Troops into the Plain of Marathon. That is distant about ten Miles from the Town of Athens. The Athenians being very much startled at this Alarm, so near them, and so prodigious, sought for Assistance no where,

but

* The Ionians were a People of Asia Minor, bordering upon the Aegean Sea, being a Colony of Greeks sent thither by the Athenians, about 1044 Years before Christ.

† Sardis was the Metropolis of Lydia, a Country bordering upon Ionia to the Eastward.

‡ Eubœa is a large Island of the Aegean Sea, separated from Achaia by a narrow Sea, called the Euripus.

§ Attica was the Country of the Athenians, in the East Parts of Achaia, lying along an Arm of the Aegean Sea, called the Saronick Bay.

à Lacedæmoniis periverunt: Philippidemq; currem ejus generis, qui hemerodromi vocantur, Lacedæmonem miserunt, ut nunciaret quam celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creati decem Prætores, qui exercitui præessent: in eis Miltiades. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moribus se defenderent, an obviam irent hostibus, acieq; decernerent. Unus Miltiades maximè nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent: Id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari; & hostes eâdem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicare.

CAP. V. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit præter Platæensium: ea mille militum. Itaque horum adventu, decem millia armatorum completa sunt; quæ manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate: quo factum est, ut plus quam collegæ Miltiades valuerit. Ejus enim auctoritate impulsu Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt,

but from the Lacedæmonians; and dispatched away Philippides, a Courier of that Kind, who are called Day Couriers, * to Lacedæmon, to tell them what speedy Assistance they had Occasion for. But at Home ten Officers were chosen to command the Army; amongst them was Miltiades. Amongst them there was a mighty Dispute whether they should defend themselves by their Walls, or march to meet the Enemy, and engage them in the Field Miltiades alone very much insisted upon it, that a Camp should be formed as soon as possible: If that was done, that both Courage would grow upon their Countrymen, when they saw their Commanders did not despair of their Bravery; and the Enemy would be rendered by the same Means more backward, when they found they durst engage them with so small a Force.

CHAP. V. At this Time no State was assisting to the Athenians, besides the † Platænsians; that State sent a thousand Soldiers. Wherefore upon their Arrival, they were ten thousand armed Men complete; which Army was fired with a wonderful Desire of Fighting. By which Means it came to pass, that Miltiades prevailed more than his Fellow Commissioners. For the Athenians, wrought upon by his

Autho-

* Lacedæmon was a City in the South Parts of Peloponnesus.

† Platæa was a Town in Bœotia, about twelve or fourteen Miles from Athens to the North-West.

runt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt: deinde postero die sub montis radicibus, acie è regione instructa, novâ arte, vi summa prælium commiserunt. Namque arbores melius locis erant stratae, hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etsi non locum æquum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum, configere cupiebat: eoque magis, quod priusquam Lacedæmonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem millia produxit, præliumque commisit. In quo tantò plùs virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemPLICEM numerum hostium profligarent: adeoque perterruerunt, ut Persæ non castra, sed naves peterent. Quâ pugna nihil adhuc est nobilius. Nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

Authority, drew their Troops out of the City, and formed a Camp in a proper Place; and then the Day following having drawn up their Army at the Bottom of a Mountain over against the Enemy, with uncommon Art, they joined Battle with the utmost Mettle. For there were Trees laid in many Places, with this Design, that they might be covered by the Height of the Mountains, and the Enemy's Horse might be hindered by the lying of the Trees, that they might not be inclosed in their Numbers. Datis, although he saw the Place was not convenient for his Men, yet depending upon the Number of his Troops, was desirous to engage; and the rather, because he thought it convenient to fight before the Lacedæmonians came to their Assistance. Wherefore he drew out into the Field a hundred thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse and joined Battle. In which the Athenians prevailed so much more than the Enemy, by their Bravery, that they routed ten times the Number of Enemies, and so affrighted them, that the Persians did not make for their Camp, but their Ships. That which Fight there is nothing as yet more famous; for no Army so small ever routed so vast a Force before.*

CAP. VI. Cujus victoriæ, non alienum videtur, quale præmium Miltiadi sit tributum docere; quo faciliùs intelligi

CHAP. VI. For which Victory, it does not seem improper to inform the Reader, what Reward was given Miltiades; that it may be

* The Latin Text is here very much corrupted; and therefore if the Translation appears not to be very good Sense, the Reader will excuse it.

u
telligi possit, eandem omnium civitatem esse naturam. Ut enim populi nostri honores quondam fuerunt rari & tennes, ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi, atque obsoleti: sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas, totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quæ Pæcile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonica; ut in decem prætorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites, præliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, posteaquam majus imperium est nactus, & largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

CAP. VII. Post hoc prælium classem septuaginta navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quæ Barbaros adjuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo impetio plerasque ad officium redire coëgit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam quum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias è navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit, omnique comæatu privavit: Deinde

vincis

be the more easily understood, that the Nature of all Cities is the same. For as the Honours of our People were formerly rare and small, and for that Reason glorious, but now extravagant, and worn Thread bare; thus we find it to have been formerly amongst the Athenians. For such was the Honour paid to Miltiades, who delivered Athens, and all Greece, in the Piazza which is called Pæcile, when the Battle of Marathon was painted there, that his Picture was placed first in the Number of the ten Commanders, and he encouraged the Soldiers, and began the Battle. The same People, after they got a larger Extent of Dominion, and were corrupted by the Extravagance of their own Magistrates, decreed three hundred Statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

CHAP. VII. After this Battle, the Athenians gave the same Miltiades a Fleet of seventy Ships, that he might prosecute in War the Islands that had assisted the Barbarians. In which Command he obliged most of them to return to their Duty; some he took by Force. Not being able by Persuasion to prevail upon one of these, the Island † Parus too much elated by their Power, he drew his Troops out of his Ships, blocked up the City by Lines drawn round

* Demetrius was Governor of Athens about 300 Years before Christ: But, being driven from thence, went into Egypt, where, upon Account of his Learning, he was made President of the Museum or Academy erected at Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter.

† Parus was one of the Islands called Cyclades in the Ægean Sea.

vineis ac testudinibus constitutis, propius muros accessit. Quum jam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insulæ conspiciebatur, nescio quò casu, nocturno tempore incensus est; cujus flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utriusque venit in opinionem, signum à classiaris regis datum. Quo factum est, ut et Parii à deditione deterrerentur, & Miltiades, timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quæ statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus, Athenas magnâ cum offensione civium suorum rediret. Accusatus ergo proditoris, quòd cum Parum expugnare posset, à rege corruptus, infectis rebus à pugna discessisset. Eo tempore æger erat vulneribus, quæ in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba pro eo fecit frater ejus Tisagoras. Causâ cognitâ, capitis absolutus, pecuniâ mulctatus est, eaq; his quinquaginta talentis æstimata est, quantus in classem sumtus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quòd solvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus est, ibiq; diem obiit supremum.

CAP.

round it, and deprived it of all Precipians; and then having erected his * Vineæ and Testudo's, came nearer the Walls. When he was upon the Point of taking the Town, a Grove at a Distance upon the Continent, which was visible from the Island, by I know not what Chance, was set on Fire in the Night-time; the Flame of which being seen by the Townsmen and the Besiegers, it came into the Fancy of both, that it was a Signal given by those on Board the King's Fleet, by which it came to pass, that both the Parians were dissuaded from surrendering, and Miltiades, fearing lest the King's Fleet was coming, setting Fire to the Works he had erected, returned to Athens, to the great Offence of his Countrymen, with as many Ships as he went out with. Wherefore he was impeached of Treachery, because, when he might have taken Parus, being bribed by the King of Persia, he had quitted the Siege without doing his Work. He was at that Time ill of the Wounds which he had received in attacking the Town: Wherefore, because he could not speak for himself, his Brother Tisagoras spoke for him. Upon hearing his Cause, being acquitted as to Life, he was fined a Sum of Money, and his Fine was set at fifty Talents, which was the Charge they had been at in sitting out the Fleet,

* I have not translated the Latin Words *Vinea* and *Testudo*, because our Language has none to answer them: They were Machines made use of in Sieges to cover the Besiegers.

Fleet. Because he could not pay the Money, he was thrown into the publick Goal, and there he ended his last Day.

CAP. VIII. Hic etſi crimine Pario eſt accusatus, tamen alia fuit cauſa damnationis. Namque Athenienſes, propter Piſiſtrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis antè fuerat, quæ paucis annis antè fuerat, omnium ſuorum civium potentiam extimeſcebant. Miltiades multùm in imperiis magiſtratribusque verſatus, non videbatur poſſe eſſe privatus: præſertim cum conſuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Cherſoneſi, omnes illos quos habitarat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, ſed juſtus. Non erat enim vi conſecutus, ſed ſuorum voluntate; eamque poteſtatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetuà in eà civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt. Sed in Miltiade erat cùm ſumma humanitas, tum mira comitas, ut nemo tam humilis eſſet, cui

CHAP. VIII. *Altho' he was accused upon his Miſcarriage at Parus, yet there was another Reason of his Condemnation. For the Athenians, becauſe of the * Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, which had happened a few Years before, dreaded the Power of all their own Citizens. Miltiades, having been much in Command, and Civil Offices, did not ſeem capable of being a private Perſon; eſpecially ſince he ſeemed to be dragged by Cuſtom into a Fondneſs for Power. For he had held, without Intermiſſion, the Sovereignty of the Cherſoneſe all the Years that he had lived there, and had been called Tyrannus, but was a juſt one: For he had not compaſſed his Power by Violence, but by the Conſent of his Countrymen, and had kept his Authority by his Goodneſs. But all are both accounted and called Tyranni, who are inveſted with Power for Life, in a State which had before enjoyed the Happineſs of Liberty. But there was in Miltiades, both the greateſt Humanity, and a wonderful Complaiſance*

* I tranſlate *Tyrannis* Uſurpation; becauſe, though Piſiſtratus did, by ſeizing the Government, deſtroy the Liberty of his Country, and was, upon that Score, an execrable Villain; yet he does not appear to have been at all tyrannical in his Government. The Word *Tyrannis* was at firſt uſed in a good Senſe for a King or Prince; then for an Uſurper, howſoever he managed his Power, when he had got it, as appears from our Author; and, laſtly, for a wicked barbarous Prince, though no Uſurper.

cui non ad eum aditus pate-
ret: magna auctoritas apud
omnes civitates, nobile no-
men. Laus rei militaris maxi-
ma. Hæc populus respiciens
maluit eum innoxium plecti,
quam se diutius esse in ti-
more.

*plaisance, that nobody was so mean,
to whom Access to him was not al-
lowed. His Authority was great
amongst all the Cities of Greece,
his Name was famous, and his
Reputation for military Affairs
very considerable. The People,
considering these Things, chose ra-
ther to have him punished, inno-
cent as he was, than to be any
longer in Fear of him.*





II.

THEMISTOCLES,
Neocli Filius Atheni-
ensis.

CAP. I.

UJUS vitia in-
euntis adolescen-
tiae magnis sunt
emendata virtuti-
bus: adeo ut an-
teferatur huic nemo, pauci
pares putentur. Sed ab initio
est ordiendum. Pater ejus
Neoclus generosus fuit. Is
uxorem Halicarnassiam civem
duxit, ex qua natus est The-
mistocles. Qui cum minus ef-
fet probatus parentibus, quod
& liberius vivebat, et rem
familiarem negligebat, a patre
exheredatus est. Quae con-
tumelia non fregit eum, sed
crexit. Nam quum judicasset
sine summâ industriâ non
posse eam extinguere, totum se
dedit reipublicae, diligentius
amicis faeræque serviens. Mul-
tâ in judiciis privatis ver-
tatur: saepe in concio-
nem

II.

THEMISTOCLES,
the Son of Neoclus the
Athenian.

CHAP. I.

HE Vices of his ear-
ly Youth were made
Amends for by his
great Virtues; so
that nobody is pre-
ferred before him, and few are
thought his Equals. But we must
begin at the Beginning. His Father
Neoclus was a Gentleman; he mar-
ried a Lady of * Halicarnassus, of
whom was born Themistocles: He
being not all approved of by his
Parents, because he lived too fast,
and neglected his Estate, was
disinherited by his Father; which
rough Usage did not break his Spi-
rit, but roused him. For as he
judged that Blot could not be wiped
off without the utmost Industry, he
gave himself entirely to Matters of
Government, serving diligently his
Friends, and his own Reputation.
He was much concerned in † pri-
vate Causes, often came into the
Assembly

* Halicarnassus was a Town of Caria, a Province in the South-
West Parts of Asia Minor.

† Private Causes were such wherein particular Persons only, and
not the State or Government, were concerned.

nem populi prodibat; nulla res major sine illo gerebatur: celeriterque quæ opus erant, reperiebat, faciliè eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quàm excogitandis erat; quòd & de instantibus (ut ait Thucydides) verissimè iudicabat, & de futuris callidissimè conjiciebat. Quo factum est, ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

CAP. II. Primus autem gradus fuit capiendæ reipublicæ, bello Coreycæ: ad quod gerendum Prætor à populo factus, non solum præsentì bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quæ ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret: ille persuasit populo, ut eâ pecuniâ classis centum navium ædificaretur. Quâ celeriter effectâ primum Coreycæos fregit: deinde maritimos prælores confectando, mare tutum reddidit. In quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantæ salutis fuerit universæ Græciæ, bello cognitum est Perico. Nam quum Xerxes & mari & terrâ bellum universæ inferret Europæ, cum tantis eam copiis invasit, quantas neq; antè, neque postea, habuit quis-

Assembly of the People, no great Thing was transacted without him, and he quickly discovered what was needful to be done, and easily laid open the same in his Address to the People. Nor was he less expeditious in the Management of Business, than in the contrivance; because (as Thucydides says) he judged very truly of Things present, and guessed very shrewdly at Things to come. By which Means it came to pass, that he was very famous in a short Time.

CHAP II. His first Step in the Undertaking of publick Business, was in the Coreycan War; for the carrying on of which he was made Prætor by the People, and made the City more daring, not only for the War then upon their Hands, but for the Time to come. For the publick Money which came in by the Mines, being lost every Year, by the Extravagance of the Magistrates, he persuaded the People, that a Fleet of a hundred Ships should be built with that Money; which being quickly effected, he first reduced the Coreycans, and then rendered the Sea secure by chasing the Pirates. In which he both enriched the Athenians with Wealth, and likewise rendered them very skilful in Sea-fights. How much that contributed to the Preservation of all Greece, was visible in the Persian War. For when Xerxes made War upon all Europe, both by Sea and Land, he invaded it with so great a Force, as neither any one before or since had; for his

quisquam. Hujus enim clas-
sis mille & ducentarum na-
vium longarum fuit, quam
duo millia onerariarum seque-
bantur. Terrestres autem ex-
ercitus septingentorum mil-
lium peditum, equitum qua-
dringentorum millium fue-
runt. Cujus de adventu quum
fama in Græciam esset per-
lata, et maximè Athenienses
peti dicerentur propter pug-
nam Marathoniam; mise-
runt Delphos consultum quid-
nam facerent de rebus suis.
Deliberantibus Pythia respon-
dit, ut mœnibus ligneis se
munirent. Id responsum quò
valeret quum intelligeret ne-
mo, Themistocles persuasit,
consilium esse Apollinis, ut
in naves se suaque conferrent:
eum enim à Deo significari
murum ligneum. Tali con-
silio probato, addunt ad su-
periores totidem naves trire-
mes; suaque omnia quæ mo-
veri poterant, partim Salami-
nem, partim Trœzenem, as-
portant: arcem sacerdotibus
paucisque majoribus natu, ad
sacra procuranda tradunt: re-
liquum oppidum relinquunt.

*his Fleet was a thousand two hundred * long Ships, which two thousand Ships of Burden at- tended. His Land Armies were to the Number of seven hundred thousand Foot, and four hundred thousand Horse. Concerning whose Coming, when the News was brought into Greece, and the Athe- nians were said to be chiefly aimed at, because of the Battle of Mara- thon, they sent to Delphos, to con- sult what they should do in that Case. The Pythonefs answered the Querists, that they should se- cure themselves by wooden Walls. When nobody could understand to what that Answer tended, The- mistocles persuaded them, that it was the Advice of Apollo, to get themselves and what they had, on board their Ships, for that was the wooden Wall meant by the God. This Advice being approv- ed, they add to their former as many more Ships, with three Banks of Oars, and carry off all their Goods that could be removed partly to † Salamis, partly to Trœzen. They deliver up the Citadel and holy Things to the Priests, and a few old Men to take care of, and leave the rest of the Town.*

CAP. III. Hujus consilium
plenisque civitatibus displi-
cebat,

CHAP. III. His Advice dis-
pleased most of the Cities, and
they

* The Ships used in Sea-fights, or Men of War, were of a longer Make than the trading Vessels, and therefore called *longæ Navæ*.

† Salamis is an Island almost over against Athens, and Trœzen a Town of Peloponnesus upon the Saronick Bay.

cebat, & in terrâ dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonidâ Lacedæmoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent, longiùque Barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hostium non sustinuerunt, eoque loco omnes interiêrunt. At classis communis Græciæ trecentarum navium, in quâ ducentæ erant Atheniensium, primùm apud Artemisium, inter Eubœam continentemque terram, cum classiariis regiis conflixit. Angustias enim Themistocles quærebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hinc etsi pari prælio discesserant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quòd erat periculum, ne, si pars navium adversariorum Eubœam superâssent, ancipiti premerentur periculo. Quo factum est, ut ab Artemisio discederent, & ex adversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.

*they liked rather to fight by Land. Wherefore some chosen Men were sent with Leonidas the King of the Lacedæmonians, to seize * Thermopylæ, and hinder the Barbarians from advancing any farther: These could not withstand the Fury of the Enemy, and all died in that Place. But the common Fleet of Greece, consisting of three hundred Ships, in which were two hundred of the Athenians, first engaged with the King's Fleet at † Artemisium, betwixt Eubœa and the Continent. For Themistocles sought a narrow Sea to engage in, lest he should be surrounded by their Numbers. Although they came off from hence with equal Advantage in the Fight, yet they durst not stay in the same Place, because the Danger was, lest, if a Part of the Enemy's Ships should get round Eubœa, they should be ‡ distressed by a double Danger. Upon which Account it came to pass, that they departed from Artemisium, and drew up their Fleet over-against Athens by Salamis.*

CAP. IV. At Xerxes Thermopylis expugnatis protinus accessit astu: idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit.
Cujus

CHAP. IV. But Xerxes having taken Thermopylæ, immediately came to the City, and none defending it, slaying the Priests which he found in the Citadel, he destroyed it with Fire. With the Flame

* Thermopylæ is a narrow Pass betwixt the Ægean Sea and the Mountains, upon the Confines of Thessaly and Achaia.

† Artemisium is a Promontory in the North Parts of the Island of Eubœa.

‡ *Ancipiti periculo premi* signifies, in plain English, to be attacked in Front and Rear all at once.

Cujus flammâ perterriti clas-
sarii, quum manere non au-
derent, & plurimi hortaren-
tur, ut domos suas quisque
discederent, mœnibusque se
defenderent; Themistocles
unus resistit, & universos esse
pares aiebat: dispersos testa-
batur perituros. Idque Eu-
rybiadi regi Lacedæmonio-
rum, qui tum summx imperii
præerat, fore affirmabat.
Quem quum minus quam
vellet moveret, noctu de ser-
vis suis quem habuit fidelissi-
mum, ad regem misit, ut ei
nunciaret suis verbis, adver-
sarios ejus in fugâ esse. Qui
si discessissent, majore cum sa-
nore & longinquiore tempore
bellum confecturum, cum sin-
gulos confectari cogeretur;
quos si statim aggredere-
tur, brevi universos oppres-
surum. Hoc eò valebat ut ingre-
ssis ad depugnandum omnes coge-
rentur. Hac re audita Barbarus
nihil doli subesse credens,
postridie alienigenis sibi loco,
contra opportunissimo hosti-
bus, ad eò angustio mari con-
fixit, ut ejus multitudo na-
vium explicari non potuerit.
Victus est ergo maris consi-
lio Themistoclis, quam armis
Græciæ.

*Flame of which those on board the
Fleet being affrighted, not daring
to stay, and many advising, that
they should depart every one to
their own Homes, and defend
themselves by their Walls, The-
mistocles alone opposed it, and said,
that all together they would be a
Match for them; but declared
that if they separated, they would
be ruined, and that, he affirmed,
would be, to Eurybiades King of
the Lacedæmonians, who at that
Time was in the chief Command.
When since he wrought upon less
than he could wish, he sent by
Night the most trusty of the Slaves
that he had to the King, to tell
him in his Words, that his En-
emies were about flying: That if
they should depart, he would
approach the War with greater
Trouble and longer Time, so that he
would be obliged to pursue them
longly, whom, if he attacked imme-
diately, he might conquer all in
a short Time. This tended to
that Purpose, that they might be
forced to fight altogether against
their Walls. The Barbarian hear-
ing this Thing, supposing there was
nothing of Fraud in the Case,
engaged the Day following in a
Place the most improper for him-
self, and on the other Hand, very
convenient for his Enemies, in so
narrow a Sea, that the great
Number of his Ships could not be
drawn out to a due Length.
Therefore he was conquered more
by the Contrivance of Themistocles,
than by the Arms of Greece.*

CAP. V. Hic Barbarus, etsi milè rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam cum his opprimere posset hostes. Interit tamen ab eodem gradu depulsiis est. Nam Themistocles verens, ne bellare perseveraret, certiorum cum fecit, id agi, ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur; ac reditus in Asiam excluderetur: Idque ei persuasit. Itaque quàm sex mensibus iter fecerat, eodem minis diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est: seque à Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum, judicavit. Sic unius viri prudentiâ Græcia liberata est, Europæque succubuit Asia. Hæc altera victoria, quæ cum Marathonio possit comparari tropæo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium, maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta.

CAP. VI. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit, neque minor in pace. Quum enim Phalereo portu, neque magno neque bono, Athenienses uterentur,

CHAP. V. Here, although the Barbarian had managed his Business but badly, yet he had such considerable Remains of Forces, that even with these he might have conquered his Enemies. Notwithstanding in the mean Time he was driven from his * Stand by the same Person. For Themistocles fearing lest he should continue the War, made him acquainted, that it was intended, that the Bridge which he had made over the Hellespont, should be broken down, and he prevented from returning into Asia. And that, he persuaded him, was certainly so. Wherefore he returned into Asia, in less than thirty Days, the same Way by which he had made his March thither in no less than six Months; and judged himself not conquered, but saved by Themistocles. Thus by the Prudence of one Man, Greece was delivered, and Asia fell under Europe. This is another Victory that may be compared with the Victory of Marathon; for the greatest Fleet, since we have had any History of Mankind, was conquered in the like Manner at Salamis, with a small Number of Ships.

CHAP. VI. Themistocles was great in this War, and no less in Peace. For whereas the Athenians made use of the Phalerean Harbour, neither great nor good, by

* This is a Metaphor taken from Gladiators or Fencers, who, when obliged to quit their Stand or Ground, were said *gradu disjici* or *gradu depelli*.

rentur, hujus consilio triplex Pyraei portus constitutus est: isque mœnibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. Idemque muros Atheniensium restituit præcipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedæmonii causam idoneam nacti, propter excursiones Barbarorum, quæ negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem haberi, ne essent loca munita quæ hostes possiderent; Athenienses ædificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longè aliò spectabat, atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonis & Salaminis, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intelligerent Lacedæmonii de principatu sibi cum his certamen fore: quare eos quàm infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem audierunt muros intrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri verarent. His præsentibus desierunt, ac de eâ re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles, & solus primò profectus est: reliqui legati ut tum exirent, quum satis altitudo muri exstructa videretur, præcipit; atque ut interim omnes servi atque liberi opus fac-

*by his Advice a triple Harbour was formed at *Pyraeus, and that was surrounded with a Wall; so that it equalled the City in Beauty, and exceeded it in Usefulness: And the same Man rebuilt the Walls of the Athenians, at his own particular Hazard. For the Lacedæmonians having got a fine Pretence, by reason of the Inroads of the Barbarians, whereupon to deny that any City ought to be kept without Peloponnesus, that there might be no fortified Places which the Enemy might possess themselves of, endeavoured to hinder the Athenians from building. This tended to quite another Purpose, than they were willing should appear. For the Athenians, by the two Victories of Marathon and Salamis, had got so much Glory amongst all Nations, that the Lacedæmonians were sensible they should have a Dispute with them for the Mastery. Wherefore they had a Mind they should be as weak as possible. But after they heard the Walls were building, they sent Ambassadors to Athens, to forbid that to be done. Whilst they were present, they gave over, and said, they would send Ambassadors to them about that Affair. Themistocles undertook this Embassy, and went alone at first: He ordered that the rest of the Ambassadors should then set forward, when the Height of the Wall*

* Pyraeus was a Town at the Mouth of the River, upon which Athens stood, and about five Miles from that City.

facerent; neque ulli loco parcerent, five sacer esset, five profanus, five privatus, five publicus: sed undique, quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est, ut Atheniensium muni ex sacellis sepulchrique constarent.

Wall seem'd pretty well advanced; and in the mean Time that all Slaves and Freemen should work, and spare no Place, whether it was sacred or profane, whether private or publick; but get together from all Hands what they thought proper to build with. From whence it came to pass, that the Walls of the Athenians consist'd of Chapels and Sepulchres.

CAP. VII. Themistocles autem, ut Lacedæmonem venit, adire ad Magistratus voluit; & dedit operam, ut quàm longissimè tempus duceret, causam interponens, se collegas expectare. Quam Lacedæmonii quererentur opus nihilominus sic i, cumque eâ re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti; à quibus quem audisset, non multum superesse munitionis, ad Egeoros Lacedæmoniorum accessit, penes quos summum imperium erat: atque apud eos contendit, falsa his esse delata; quare æquum esse illos, viros bonos nobilesque mittere, quibus fides adhiberetur, qui rem explorarent: interea se obsequium retinerent. Gestus est ei mos, tresque legati, sancti summis honoribus, Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci, eisque prælixi, ut ne prius, Lacedæmoniorum legatos dimitterent, quàm ipse esset remissus. Hos perquam Athenas

CHAP. VII. But Themistocles, as soon as he came to Lacedæmon, would not wait upon the Magistrates, and did his Endeavour to spend out the Time as long as possibly, alledging this Reason, that he waited for his Collegues. When the Lacedæmonians complained that the Work went on nevertheless, and that he endeavour'd to deceive them in that Matter, in the mean Time the rest of the Ambassadors came up: From whom, when he had heard that not much of the Wall remained to be done, he went to the Ephori of the Lacedæmonians, in whom the Supreme Power was vested, and avers before them, that a false Account had been given them: wherefore it was but reasonable for them to send honest Men, and Gentlemen, to whom Credit might be given, to examine it to the Matter; in the mean Time they might keep him as a Hostage. He was compell'd with, and three Ambassadors, that had borne the highest Offices, were sent to Athens. Themistocles order'd his Collegues to go along with them, and warn'd them, that they should not dismis-

thenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratum senatumque Lacedæmoniorum adit, & apud eos liberrimè professus est, Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi jure gentium facere possent, deos publicos, suosque patrios ac penates, quò facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris sepiisse: neque eo, quod inutile esset Græciæ, fecisse. Nam illorum urbem, ut propugnaculum, oppositam esse Barbaris, apud quam jam bis classis regia fecisset naufragium. Lacedæmonios autem malè et injustè facere, qui id potius intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi, quàm quod universæ Græciæ, utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miserant, se remitterent; aliter illos nunquam in patriam essent recepturi.

the Ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians, before he was sent back again. After he thought they were got to Athens, he went to the Magistrates and Senate of the Lacedæmonians, and very frankly declared before them, that the Athenians, by his Advice, had enclosed within Walls their publick Gods, their Country Gods, and Household Gods, that they might the more easily defend them from an Enemy, which they might have done by the common Law of Nations; nor had they done therein what was usefess to Greece: For their City was placed as a Bulwark against the Barbarians, at which the King's Fleet had already twice suffered Shipwreck. And that the Lacedæmonians acted ill and unjustly, who more regarded that, which was usefess to promote their own Dominion, than what was for the Interest of all Greece. Wherefore, if they had a Mind to receive their Ambassadors again, which they had sent to Athens, they must send him back; otherwise they would never receive them into their Country again.

CAP. VIII. Hic tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam: Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat
Milti-

CHAP. VIII. *Yet he did not escape the Odium of his Countrymen: For being turned out of the City by the * Votes of the Shells, from*

* The Athenians, when they became jealous of any of their great Men, as dangerous to the publick Liberty, used to banish them for ten Years. The Way of Voting upon that Occasion was, by writing the Person's Name upon a Shell, called in Greek *Ostrakon*, from whence this Sort of Banishment was called *Ostracism*.

Miltiades, testarum suffragiis è civitate ejectus, Argos habitatum concessit. Hic quum, propter multas ejus virtutes, magnâ cum dignitate viveret, Lacedæmonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quòd societatem cum rege Persarum ad Græciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens proditiōis est damnatus. Id ut audiuit, quòd non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum ejus principes civitatis animadvertisset timere, ne propter se bellum his Lacedæmonii & Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum Molossiorum regem, cum quo ei hospitium fuerat, confugit. Huc cum venisset, & in præsentia rex abesset, quò majore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam ejus parvulam arripuit, & cum eâ se in sacrum, quod summâ colebatur ceremoniâ, conjecit: inde non prius egressus est, quàm rex eum datâ dextrâ in fidem reciperet: quam præstitit. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus & Lacedæmoniis exposceretur publicè, supplicem non prodidit; monuitque, ut consuleret sibi: difficile

*from the same Jealousy upon which Miltiades had been condemned, he went to * Argos to dwell. As he lived here in great Honour, because of his many excellent Qualities, the Lacedæmonians sent Ambassadors to Athens, to accuse him in his Absence, for having made an Agreement with the King of the Persians to subdue Greece. Upon this Charge he was condemned in his Absence for Treason. As soon as he heard that, because he saw he should not be safe enough at Argos, he removed to † Corcyra. There, when he observed the great Men of that State to be afraid, lest the Athenians and Lacedæmonians should proclaim War against them upon his Account, he fled to Admetus King of the § Molossi, with whom he had a Friendship. After he was come thither, and the King at that Time was absent, that he might secure himself upon his Reception with a stronger Obligation of Religion, he took his little Daughter, and threw himself with her into a Chapel, which was regarded with the utmost Veneration. He came not out from thence till the King, giving him his right Hand, took him under his Protection: which he made good. For when he was publickly demanded by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he did not betray his Refugee, and*

F 2

warned

* Argos was a City in the North Parts of Peloponnesus.

† Corcyra is an Island upon the Coast of Epire, now called Corfu.

§ The Molossi were a People of Epire.

facile enim esse, in tam propinquo loco, turd eum veritari. Itaque Pydrum cum deduci iussit, & quod satis esset præsidii dedit: Hic re audita, hic in navem omnibus ignotus ascendit: quæ cum te pestilente maxime Naxum ferretur, ubi cum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eò pervenisset, sibi esse periculum. Hac necessitate coactus, domino navis, quis sit, absit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille, clarissimi viri captus misericordia, diem noctemque procul ab insula in tali navem tenuit in anchoris, neque quaquam ex eâ exire passus est: inde Ipsilon peruenit, ibique Themistoclem exposuit: cui ille pro meritis gratiam postea retulit.

CAP. IX. Scio plerisque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod ætate proximus erat, de his, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerant, & ejusdem civitatis

warned him to provide for himself, for it would be difficult for him to be safe in so near a Place. Wherefore he ordered him to be conducted to Pylos, and gave him what Guard was sufficient. This Thing being heard, he went aboard a Ship, unknown to all there; which being driven by a very great Storm for * Naxos, where at that Time was an Army of the Athenians, Themistocles was sensible, if he came there, he must perish. Being forced by this Necessity, he discovered to the Master of the Vessel who he was, promising him many Things, if he would save him. And he, being seized with Pity of this most famous Man, kept the Ship Day and Night a great Distance from the Land, in the main Sea, at Anchor, nor did he suffer any body to go out of it. After that he came to † Ephesus, and there lands Themistocles, to whom he afterwards made a Requital according to his Desert.

CAP. IX. I know that most Authors have written that Themistocles went over into Asia, whilst Xerxes was reigning: But I trust Thucydides above others, because he was in Time the nearest to him of those who have left the History of those Times, and of the same City.

* Naxos is an Island of the Egean Sea, one of those called Cyclades.

† Ephesus was a famous City in that Part of Asia Minor, called Ionia, near the Sea.

civitatis fuit. Is autem ait, ad Artaxerxem eum venisse, atque his verbis epistolam misisse: *Themistocles veni ad te, qui purima mali omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quum mihi necesse fuit adversus patrem tuum bellare, patriamque meam defendere. Idem multò plura boni tibi postquam in tuto ipse ego, & ille in periculo esse cœpit. Non quum in Asiam reverti nollet, præcis apud Salamina factis, literis eum certior m feci, id agi, ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur, atque ab hostibus circumiretur. Quo nuncio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem ad te confugi, exagitatus à cunctâ Græciâ, tuam petens amicitiam: quam si ero adeptus, non minò me bonum amicum habebis quàm fortem ille inimicum expertus est. Ea autem rogo, ut de his rebus, de quibus tecum colloqui volo, annum mihi temporis des, eoque transacto me ad te venire patiaris.*

City. But he says, that he came to Artaxerxes, and sent a Letter to him in these Words: I Themistocles am come to you, who of all the Greeks brought the most Evils upon your Family, when it was necessary for me to fight against your Father, and defend my Country. I the same Man did him much more Service, after I was in Safety, and he began to be in Danger. For when he intended not to return into Asia, after the Battle was fought at Salamis, I made him acquainted by a Letter, that it was intended that the Bridge, which he had made over the Hellespont, should be broken down, and be enclosed by his Enemies. By which Advice he was delivered from Danger. But now I have fled to you, being persecuted by all Greece, begging your Friendship, which if I shall obtain, you shall find me a no less good Friend, than he experienced me to be a gallant Enemy. And therefore I beg of you, that you would allow me a Year's Time for the Business, concerning which I desire to talk with you; and after that is past you would suffer me to wait upon you.

CAP. X. Hujus rex animi magnitudinem admirans, cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne id tempus literis sermonique Persarum dedit: quibus adeò eruditus est, ut multò commediis dicitur apud

CHAP. X. *The King admiring the Greatness of his Mind, and desiring to have such a Man gained over effectually to him, granted him the Favour. He spent all that Time in the Books and Language of the Persians, in which he was so perfectly instructed, that he*

apud regem verba fecisse, quam hi poterant, qui in Perside erant nati. Hic quum multa regi esset pollicitus, gratissimumque illud, si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Græciam bello oppressurum; magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Asiam rediit, domiciliumque Magnesiæ sibi constituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat, his usus verbis: Quæ ei panem præberet: ex quâ regione quinquaginta ei talenta quotannis redibant: Lampfacum, unde vinum fumeret: Myntem, ex quâ obsonium haberet. Hujus ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulchrum, prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus: statum in foro Magnesiæ. De cuius morte multis modis apud plerisque scriptum est. Sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiæ morbo mortuum: neque negat fuisse famam, venenum suâ sponte sumsisse, quum se quæ regi de Græciâ opprimendâ pollicitus esset, præstare posse desperaret. Idem ossa ejus clam in Atticâ

ab

he is said to have spoken before the King much more handsomely than these could, who were born in Persia. After he had promised the King many Things, and that which was the most agreeable of all, that if he would follow his Advice, he should conquer Greece by War; being presented with great Gifts by Artaxerxes, he returned into Asia, and fixed his Habitation at * Magnesia. For the King had given him this City, using these Words, To furnish him with Bread; out of which Territory fifty Talents came in to him yearly: † Lampfacus, from whence he might have his Wine: ‡ Myus, from whence he might have his other Provisions. Two Monuments of him have continued to our Times; his Sepulchre nigh the Town in which he was buried, his Statues in the Forum of Magnesia. Concerning whose Death an Account is given after different Manners in most Authors. But we approve of the same Author Thucydides above others, who says, that he died of a Disease at Magnesia. Nor does he deny, that there was a Report that he took Poison voluntarily, because he despaired of being able to perform what he had promised the King about

con-

* Magnesia was a Town of Asia Minor, in that Part of it called Ionia, near the river Meander.

† Lampfacus was a Town of Mysia Minor, in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont.

‡ Myus was a Town of Ionia, not far from Magnesia.

ab amicis, esse sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod proditoris esset damnatus, memoriae prodidit.

conquering Greece. The same Man has left upon Record, that his Bones were privately buried in Attica by his Friends, because it was not allowed by the Laws, seeing he had been condemned for Treason.





III.

ARISTIDES, Lyſimachi Filius, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

✱✱✱✱ Ariſtides, Lyſimachi filius, Athenienſis, æqualis ſerè fuit Themiftocli. Itaque cùm eo de principatu contendit: namque obreſcârunt inter ſe. In his autem cognitum eſt quantò antealet eloquentia innocentia. Quanquam enim adde excellabat Ariſtides abſtinentiâ, ut unus poſt hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audiverimus, cognomine JUSTUS ſit appellatus, tamen à Themiftocle collaſeſtus teſſolâ illâ, exilio decem annorum multatus eſt. Qui quidem quum intelligeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non poſſe, cedensque animadvertet quendam ſcribentem, ut patriâ pelleretur, quaſiſſe ab eo dicitur, Quare id faceret? aut, Quid Ariſtides commiſiſſet, cur tantâ pœnâ dignus duceretur? Cui ille reſpondit, Se ignorare Ariſtidem, ſed ſibi non placere

III.

ARISTIDES, the Son of Lyſimachus, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

✱✱✱✱ Ariſtides, the Son of Lyſimachus, the Athenian, was almoſt of the ſame Age with Themiftocles. Wherefore he contended with him for the Superiority: For they endeavoured to leſſen one another. And it was viſible in them, how much Eloquence out-does Innocence. For though Ariſtides did excel ſo much in Juſtice, that he alone, ſince the firſt Accounts of Mankind that we indeed have heard of, was called by the Surname The JUST: Yet being overborne by Themiftocles by that Shill, he was puniſhed with the Banishment of ten Years. Who truly, when he found that the incenſed People could not be reſtrained, and, going off, obſerved one writing, that he ſhould be baniſhed his Country; is ſaid to have enquired of him, Why he did it? or, What Ariſtides had done, for which he ſhould be thought worthy of ſo great a Punishment? To whom he replied, that he did not know Ariſtides, but that it did not please

cere, quod tam cupidè elaborâset, ut præter cæteros JUSTUS appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam pœnam non pertulit. Nam postquam Xerxes in Græciam descendit, sexto ferè anno postquam erat expulsus, plebiscito in patriam restitutus est.

CAP. II. Interfuit autem pugræ navali apud Salamina, quæ facta est priusquam pœnâ liberaretur. Idem prætor fuit Atheniensium apud Platæas, in prælio quo Mardonius fusus, barbarorumque exercitus est interfectus. Neque aliud est ullum hujus in re militari illustre factum, quàm hujus imperii memoria: Justitiæ verò, & æquitatis, & innocentie multa. Imprimis, quod ejus æquitate factum est, cum in communi classe esset Græciæ simul cum Pausaniâ, quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut summa imperii maritimi ab Lacedæmoniiis transferretur ad Athenienses. Namque ante id tempus, & mari & terrâ duces erant Lacedæmonii. Tum autem & intemperantiâ Pausaniæ, & justitiâ factum est Aristidis, ut omnes ferè civitates Græciæ ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent, & adversus barbaros, quod duces deligerent sibi, quod facilius repellerent, si fortè bellum renovare conarentur.

please him, that he had laboured so earnestly to be called JUST above other People. He did not suffer the legal Punishment of ten Years. For after Xerxes came into Greece, about the sixth Year after he had been banished, he was restored to his Country by a Decree of the People.

CHAP. II. *He was present too at the Sea fight at Salamis. which was fought before he was released from his Punishment. The same Man was Commander of the Athenians at Plateæ, in the Battle in which Mardonius was routed, and the Army of the Barbarians cut off: Nor is there any other illustrious Action of his in military Affairs, besides the Account of this Command: But there are a great many Instances of his Justice, Equity, and Innocence. In the first Place, that it was brought about by his Justice, when he was in the common Fleet of Greece, together with Pausanias, by which General Mardonius had been routed, that the Chief Command at Sea was transferred from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians: For before that Time the Lacedæmonians were Commanders both by Sea and Land; but then it came to pass, through the unjust Behaviour of Pausanias, and the Justice of Aristides, that almost all the Cities of Greece applied themselves to the Alliance of the Athenians, and chose them for their Leaders against the Barbarians, that they might the more easily repulse them, if perhaps*

they should endeavour to renew the War.

CAP. III. Ad classes ædificandas exercituique comparandos, quantum pecuniæ quæque civitas daret, Aristides electus est, qui constitueret. Ejus arbitrio quadringenta & sexaginta talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata. Id enim commune ærarium esse voluerunt. Quæ omnis pecunia postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic quâ fuerit abstinentiâ, nullum est certius indicium, quàm quòd, cum tantis rebus præfuisset, in tantâ paupertate decessit, ut, qui efferreretur, vix reliquerit. Quo factum est, ut filæ ejus publicè alerentur, & de comuni ærario, dotibus datis, collocarentur. Decessit ætem serè post annum quartum quàm Themistocles A.ænis erat expulsus.

CHAP. III. *Aristides was pitched upon to appoint how much Money every City should furnish for the building of Fleets, and the raising of Armies. By his Order four hundred and sixty Talents were carried to* Delus every Year; for they ordained that to be the common Treasury. All which Money, some Time after, was removed to Athens. Of how great Justice he was, there is no more certain Proof, than that though he had commanded in such great Affairs, he died in so great Poverty, that he scarcely left where-with he might be buried. Whence it came to pass, that his Daughters were maintained at the publick Charge, and were disposed of in Marriage, their Fortunes being paid out of the common Treasury. He died, about the fourth Year after Themistocles was banished Athens.*

* Delus is an Island of the Egean Sea, one of the Cyclades, formerly very famous for an Oracle of Apollo.





IV.

IV.

PAUSANIAS,
Lacedæmonius.

PAUSANIAS, the
Lacedæmonian.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

P
 Ausanias magnus
 homo, sed varius
 in omni genere
 vitæ fuit. Nam
 ut virtutibus e-
 luxit, sic vitiis est obrutus.
 Hujus illustrissimum est præ-
 lium apud Platæas. Nam-
 que illo duce Mardonius,
 satrapes regius, natione Me-
 dus, regis gener, in paucis
 omnium Persarum. & ma-
 nu fortis & consilii ple-
 nus, cum ducentis millibus
 peditum, quos viritum lege-
 rat, & viginti millibus e-
 quitum, haud ita magnâ
 manu Græciâ fugatus est:
 eoque ipse dux cecidit præ-
 lio. Quâ victoriâ elatus plu-
 rima miscere cœpit, & ma-
 jora concupiscere. Sed pri-
 mum in eo est reprehen-
 sus, quod ex prædâ tripode
 dem aureum Delphis posu-
 isset, epigrammate scripto,
 in

P
 Ausanias was a great
 Man, but inconsistent
 in every Way of Life.
 For as he was il-
 lustrious for his ex-
 cellent Qualities, so was he over-
 run with Vices. His most fa-
 mous Battle is that of Platæa.
 For he was Commander there
 when Mardonius, the King's
 * Lord Deputy, by Nation a Mede,
 the King's Son-in-Law, amongst
 the Chief of all the Persians, both
 brave in Action, and full of good
 Sense, was driven out of Greece
 with two hundred thousand Foot,
 which he had chosen out Man
 by Man, and twenty thousand
 Horse, by an Army not nearly so
 big; and the General himself
 fell in that Battle. With which
 Victory being elated, he began to
 make great Confusion, and to aim
 at Things above him. But he
 was first of all blamed for this,
 that he had dedicated a golden
 Tripod

G 2

Trivet

* *Satrapes* was a Name amongst the Persians for the Governors of the Provinces of that Empire.

in quo erat hæc sententia: *Suo ductu barbaros apud Plateas esse deletos, ejusque victoriæ ergo Apollini ædum dedisse.* Hos versus Lacedæmonii exscalperunt, neque aliud scripserunt quàm nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persæ erant victi.

Trivet at Delphos, of the Spoil, with an Inscription written upon it, in which was this Sentence; That the Barbarians, by his Conduct, had been cut off at Plateæ, and that he had made this Present to Apollo, upon the Account of that Victory. The Lacedæmonians erased these Lines, nor did they write any Thing else, but the Names of those Cities, by whose Assistance the Persians had been conquered.

CAP. II. Post id prælium, eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi Cyprum atque Hellespontum miserunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum præsidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in eâ re usus, elatiùs se gerere cœpit, majoresque appetere res. Nam quum Byzantio expugnato cepisset complures Persarum nobiles, atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos; hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinculis publicis effugisse: & cum his Gongylum Eretriensem, qui literas regi redderet, in quibus hæc fuisse scripta Thucydides memoriæ prodidit: *Pausanias dux Spartæ, quos Byzantii ceperat, postquam propinquos tuos cognovit,*

CHAP. II. *After that Battle, they sent the same Pausanias with the common Fleet to * Cyprus and the Hellespont, to drive the Garrisons of the Barbarians out of those Parts. And having the same good Fortune in that Affair, he began to behave himself more haughtily, and to aim at greater Matters. For when after the carrying of † Byzantium he had taken many noble Men of the Persians, and amongst them, some of the King's Relations, he privately sent those to Xerxes, pretending that they had escaped out of the Publick Custody, and with them Gongylus the Eretrian, to carry a Letter to the King, in which, Thucydides writes, these Things were written: Pausanias, General of Sparta, after he understood*

* Cyprus is a famous Island in the Eastern Parts of the Mediterranean.

† Byzantium, a Town upon the Thracian Bosphorus, at the Mouth of the Euxine, now called the Black Sea. It was much enlarged and beautified by the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great, and from him called Constantinople. Its Name is now Stamboul, being the Metropolis of the Turkish Empire.

vet, tibi muneri misit, seque tecum affinitate conjungi cupit. Quare, si tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam nuptum. Id si feceris, & Spartam & ceteram Græciam sub tuam potestatem, te adjuvante, se redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittas face, cum quo colloquatur. Rex tot hominum salute, tam sibi necessariorum, magnopere gavisus, confestim cum epistolâ Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit, in quâ eum colaudat, ac petit, ne cui rei pareat ad ea perficienda, quæ pollicetur: si fecerit, nullius rei à se repulsam laturum. Hujus Pausanias voluntate cognitâ, alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in suspicionem cecidit Lacedæmoniorum. In quo facto domum revocatus, accusatus, capitis absolvitur: mulctatur tamen pecuniâ. Quam ob causam ad classem remissus non est.

derstood that those, whom he took at Byzantium, were your Relations, has sent them you as a Present, and desires to be joined in Affinity with you. Wherefore, if it seem good to you, give him your Daughter in Marriage. If you do that, he promises, that with him assisting you, you shall reduce both Sparta and the rest of Greece under your Power. If you would have any of these Things done, see you send a trusty Person to him, with whom he may confer about the Matter. The King rejoicing mightily, at the Security of so many Persons so nearly allied to him, dispatches away immediately Artabazus with a Letter to Pausanias; in which he commends him, and desires he would not spare any Thing to effect the Matters which he promised: If he did it, he should have a Refusal of nothing from him. Pausanias having understood his Mind, being rendered more forward for the Management of the Affair, fell under the Suspicion of the Lacedæmonians. In the Middle of which Transaction, being recalled home, and accused of this capital Crime, he is acquitted; yet is fined a Sum of Money: for which Reason he was not sent back to the Fleet.

CAP. III. At ille post non multò, suâ sponte ad exercitum rediit; & ibi non callidâ sed dementi ratione cogitata patefecit. Non enim mores patrios solùm, sed etiam cultum

CHAP. III. But he, not long after, returned to the Army of his own Accord; and there discovered his Intentions, not after a cunning but a mad Manner. For he not only laid aside his Country

tum vestitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veste Medicâ: satellites Medi & Ægyptii sequebantur: epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius, quàm qui aderant, perpeti possent. Aditum petentibus conveniendi non dabat: superbè respondebat, & crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire volebat. Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade est, se contulerat: ibi confilia cum patriæ, tum sibi, inimica capiebat. Id postquam Lacedæmonii resciverunt, legatos ad eum cum scytalâ miserunt, in qua more illorum erat scriptum, nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc nuncio motus, sperans se etiam pecuniâ et potentiâ instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincula publica conjectus est. Licet enim cuivis ephoro legibus

*Country Manner, but even its Furniture and Dress. He had the Equipage of a King, the Median Robe: Median and Egyptian Guards attended him: He feasted after the Manner of the Persians, more luxuriously than they that were with him could endure: He did not grant Access to those that desired to wait upon him: He answered proudly, and commanded cruelly: He would not return to Sparta: He retired to Colonæ, which Place is in the Territory of * Troas, where he formed Designs of pernicious Tendency, both to his Country, and himself. After the Lacedæmonians understood it, they sent Messengers to him with a † Scytala; in which was written, after their Fashion, unless he returned home, that they would condemn him to die. Being startled at this Message, hoping that he might keep off the Danger that threatened him, by his Money and his Power, he returned Home. As soon as he came here, he was clapped*

* Troas was a Country of Asia Minor, so called from the City Troy that was in it; it lay along the Hellespont.

† This Scytala was a white Roll of Parchment wrapped about a black Stick, about nine Cubits long. It was used thus: When the Magistrates gave Commission to any, as General or Admiral, they took two round Pieces of Wood, of the same Size exactly; one of those they kept, the other was given to the Commander, to whom as oft as they had Occasion to send any private Dispatches, they cut a long narrow Scroll of Parchment, and rolling about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it: Then taking it off, sent it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing; and the Characters, which before it was wrapped up, were confusedly disjoined and unintelligible, appeared very plain.

legibus eorum hoc facere. Hinc tamen se exprobat: neque eo magis casebat suspitione; nam opinio manebat, eum cum rege habere societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Helotes vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedæmoniorum colit, servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset, non putabant de tali tanque claro viri suspicionibus oportere judicari: sed expectandum dum se ipsa res aperiret.

apped into publick Custody by the Ephori; for by their Laws it is allowable for any Ephorus to do this to a King. Yet he got himself out hence. Nor yet was he the more free from Suspicion; for this Opinion of him continued; that he had an Agreement with the * King of Persia. There is a certain kind of Men which is called Helots, of which a great Number till the Lands of the Lacedæmonians, and perform the Office of Slaves. He was supposed to solicit these to join him, with the Hopes of Liberty; but because there was no Charge against him, as to these Things, well made out, upon which he might be convicted, they did not think it reasonable to pass Sentence upon so great and so famous a Man, upon Suspicions; but that they ought to stay till the Matter discovered itself.

CAP. IV. Interim Argilius quidam adulescentulus, quem pueram Pausanias amicum venereo delexerat, quum epistolam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset, eique in suspensionem venisset, aliquid in eâ de se esse scriptum, quod nemo eorum redisset, qui super tali causâ eodem missi erant; vincula epistolæ laxavit,

CHAP. IV. In the mean Time was Argilius, a young Man, whom when a Boy Pausanias had loved with a venereal Passion having received a Letter from him to Artabazus; and it coming into his Fancy, that there was something written in it about himself because none of those had come back again, who had been sent to the same Place upon such an Occasion; he loosed

* Our Author here imitates the Greek Authors, who used to call the King of Persia simply, or by Way of Eminence, *The King*, sometimes *The Great King*.

vit, signoque detracto, cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pericundum. Erant in eadem epistola quæ ad ea pertinebant, quæ inter regem Pausaniamque convenerant. Has ille literas ephoris tradidit. Non est prætereunda gravitas Lacedæmoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne huius quidem indicio impulsus sunt, ut Pausaniam comprehenderent: neque patris vim adhibendam putaverunt, quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indicii, quid fieri vellent, præceperunt. Fanum Neptuni est Tænari, quod violare nefas putant Græci: eo ille index confugit: in arâ confedit: hanc juxta, locum fecerunt sub terrâ, ex quo posset audiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum Argillio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias, ut audivit Argillium confugisse in aram, perturbatus eo venit. Quem quum supplicem dei videret in arâ sedentem, quærit causæ quid sit tam repentini consilii. Huic ille, quid ex literis comperisset, aperit. Tanto magis Pausanias

*loosed * the String of the Epistle, and taking off the Seal, he understood it he carried it, he was to perish. There was in the same Epistle, what appertained to these Things which had been agreed on betwixt the King and Pausanias. He delivered his Letter to the Ephori. The † Steadiness of the Lacedæmonians upon this Occasion is not to be passed by. For they were not wrought upon even by his Information, to seize Pausanias; nor did they think any Force was to be used against him, before he discovered himself. Wherefore they ordered the Informer what they would have done. There is a Temple of Neptune at Tænarus, which the Greeks account it a most heinous Crime to profane. Thither the Informer fled, and sat upon the Altar. Nigh this they made a Place under Ground, from whence if any one talked any Thing with Argilius, it might be overheard. Some of the Ephori went down into it. Pausanias, as soon as he heard that Argilius was fled to the Altar, came thither in great Disorder. Whom when he saw sitting upon the Altar as a Suppliant to the God, he asks*

* The Way of writing Letters was anciently upon wooden Tablets spread with Wax; these they used to clap together, and tie with a Thread, the Knot of which had a Seal upon it.

Gravitas properly signifies heavy. And as Things that are heavy are not easily moved, thence it was figuratively applied to such as are not apt to alter their Purposes, or form Resolutions, but upon weighty Considerations; and agreeably to this Sense of Græcis it is *Gravitas* here used.

sanias perturbatus orare cœpit, ne enunciarer, nec se, meritum de illo optimè, proderet. Quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset, tantisque implicitum rebus liberasset, magno esse ei præmio futurum.

asks what the Reason was of this sudden Resolution. He tells him what he had discovered from the Letter. Pausanias, being so much the more confounded, began to beg, that he would not discover it, nor betray him, that had deserved very well from him; and that if he would but grant him that Favour, and would relieve him now entangled in such mighty Difficulties, he should have a considerable Reward for it.

CAP. V. His rebus Ephori cognitis, satius putaverunt in urbe eum comprehendi; quò cum essent profecti, & Pausanias, placato Argilio, (ut putabat) Lacedæmonem revertebatur, in itinere, quum jam in eo esset, ut comprehenderetur, è vultu cujusdam ephori, qui eum admonere cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis antè gradibus, quàm qui sequebantur, in ædem Minervæ, quæ Chalciæcus vocatur, contigit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas ejus ædis obstruxerunt, testumque sunt demoliti, quò facilius sub dio interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniæ vixisse; eamque jam inagno natu, post-

CHAP. V. *The Ephori, having understood these Things, thought it better to have him seized in the City. Where as they were going, and Pausanias having pacified Argilius, as he thought, was returning to Lacedæmon; in the Way, when he was now upon the Point of being seized, he understood by the Look of a certain Ephorus, who desired to acquaint him, that there was a Design upon him: Wherefore he fled into the Temple of Minerva, which is called Chalciæcus, a few Steps before those that followed him. That he might not get out hence, the Ephori blocked up the folding Doors of the Temple, and took off the Roof, * that he might die the more easily in the open Air. It is said, that the † Mother of Pausanias was living at that Time; and*

* This Reason of our Author's seems trifling, and therefore I am apt to think is not the true one: There was, I fancy, some Point of Superstition in the Case.

† This Behaviour of a Mother to a Son will appear almost incredible to such as are unacquainted with the Temper and Spirit of

postquam de scelere filii com-
perit. in primis ad filium
claudendum, lapidem ad in-
troitum ædis attulisse. Sic
Pausanias magnam belli glo-
riam turpi morte maculavit.
Hic cum semianimis de tem-
plo elatus esset, confestim ani-
mam efflavit. Cujus mortui
corpus quum eodem nonnulli
dicerent inferri oportere, quò
hi qui ad supplicium essent
dati; displicuit pluribus; &
procul ab eo loco infoderunt,
in quo erat mortuus. Inde
posterius dei Delphici responso
crutus, atque eodem loco se-
pultus, ubi vitam posuerat.

*and that she, being now of a great
Age, after she had been informed
of the Wickedness of her Son,
brought, amongst the Foremost, a
Stone to the Entrance of the Tem-
ple, to shut up her Son. Thus Pau-
sanias sullied the great Glory he
had gotten in the War, by a
shameful Death. After he had
been brought half dead out of the
Temple, he immediately breathed
out his Soul. The Body of whom
being dead, when some said it ought
to be carried into the same Place
whither they were carried, who
were delivered up to capital Pu-
nishment, it displeased many; and
they buried him a great Way from
that Place in which he died. He
was afterwards taken up, upon
an Answer of the Delphian Oracle,
and buried in the Place where he
had ended his Life.*

of the Lacedemonians, which was very singular; but if that be con-
sidered, there was nothing strange or extraordinary in the Matter. It
was customary with the Mothers, when their Sons went to the War, to
deliver them their Shield with these Words, *ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς, i. e.*
either bring this back, or be brought upon it; as much as to say,
lose your Life rather than this. Namely there are Authors who tell
us, That upon News of the Defeat of a Lacedemonian Army, it
was usual for the Relations of the Slain to meet with all the Signs
of Joy, congratulating one another; whilst the Relations of such as
had saved themselves by running away, appeared with dejected,
melancholy Looks, or durst not show their Heads at all for Shame.



V.

*CIMON, Miltiadis filius,
Athenensis.*

CAP. I.

CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est adolescentiæ. Nam quum pater ejus litem æstimaram populo solvere non potuisset, ob eamque causam in vinculis publicis decessisset; Cimon eadem custodiâ tenebatur, neque legibus Atheniensium emitti poterat, nisi pecuniam, quâ pater multatus esset, solvisset. Habebat autem in matrimonio sororem suam germanam, nomine Elpinicem, non magis amore, quàm patrio more ductus: nam Atheniensibus licet, eodem patre natas, uxores ducere. Hujus conjugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generosus quàm pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone, ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum. Is cum talem conditionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se passuram

Miltiadis

V.

CIMON, the Son of Miltiades, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

CIMON, the Son of Miltiades, the Athenian, had but a hard Entrance upon his State of Manhood. For whereas his Father was not able to pay the People his Fine, and for that Reason died in the public Gaol; Cimon was confin'd in the same Custody, nor could he be discharged by the Laws of the Athenians, unless he paid the Sum his Father had been fin'd. He had in Marriage his Sister, by Name Elpinice, not more induc'd to it by Love, than the Fashion of his Country: for it is lawful for the Athenians to marry those that are born of the same Father. One Callias being desirous of this Match, not so much a Gentleman as a merciful Man, who had got a great Estate by the Mines, dealt with Cimon, to give him her to Wife, promising, if he obtained that of him, that he would pay the Attorney for him. When he rejected the Offer, Elpinice deny'd that she would suffer the Son of Miltiades to die in the public Gaol: and since she could hinder it, she would

H 2

Miltiadis progeniem in vinculis publicis interire; quoniamque prohibere posset, se Calliæ nupturam, si, ea quæ pollicetur, præstitisset.

would marry Callias, if he would perform the Things which he promised.

CAP. II. Tali modo custodia liberatus Cimon, celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiæ, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quod cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat versatus. Itaque hic & populum urbanum in suâ tenuit potestate, & apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thracum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit, eoque decem millia Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum apud Mycalem Cyprianorum & Phœnicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit: eodemque die pari fortunâ in terrâ usus est. Namque hostium navibus captis, statim ex classe copias suas eduxit, barbarorum uno concursu maximam vim proficiavit.

CHAP. II. Cimon, being delivered out of Custody in this Manner, quickly came to the greatest Eminence. For he had Eloquence enough, the utmost Generosity, great Skill as well in the Civil Law as Military Affairs, because he had been with his Father in the Army, from a Child. Wherefore he both kept the People of the Town at his Command, and sway'd much by his Authority with the Army. In the first Place, being Commander of the Athenian Forces, he routed a great Body of the Thracians at the River * Strymon, built the Town of † Amphipolis, and sent ten thousand Athenians as a Colony thither. The same Man again at ‡ Mycale, took a Fleet of two hundred Ships of the Cyprians and § Phœnicians, which he conquered; and the same Day had the like good Fortune by Land. For after he had taken the Enemy's Ships, he immediately drew his Forces out of the Fleet, and at one Push overthrew a mighty

* Strymon was a River of Macedonia, nigh the Borders of Thrace.

† Amphipolis was built in an Island of the River Strymon, from whence it had its Name.

‡ Mycale was a Promontory of Ionia, not far from Ephesus.

§ The Phœnicians were a People of Asia upon the Coasts of the Mediterranean, Eastward from Cyprus, famous for their Skill in Sea Affairs, and a great Traffick they carried on up and down the Mediterranean.

prostravit. Quâ victoriâ magnâ prædâ potitus, quum domum reverteretur, quod jam nonnullæ insulæ propter acerbitatem imperii defecerant, bene animatus confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coegit. Scyrum, quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant quod contumacibus se gesserat, vacuefecit: possessoribus veteres urbe insulæque eiecit; agros civibus divisit. Thasios, opulentia fletos, suo adventu fugit. His ex manubiliis aîx Athenarum, quâ ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.

*mighty Army of the Barbarians. In which Victory getting a great deal of Plunder, as he was returning home, because now some Islands had revolted, by reason of the Rigour of the Athenian Government, he fixed the Well-affected, and the Revellers he obliged to return to their Duty. He swept Scyrus * of its People, which at that Time the † Dolopes inhabited, because it had behaved itself obstinately; turned the old Inhabitants out of the City and Island; divided the Lands amongst his Citizens. He reduced the ‡ Thasians, elated with their great Wealth, upon his Arrival amongst them. Out of these Spoils the Citadel of Athens was beautified, where it looks to the South.*

CAP. III. Quibus rebus quum unus in civitate maximè floureret, incidit in eandem invidiam, quam pater suus, cæterique Atheniensium principes. Nam testarum suffragiis, quod illi *οργανισμὸν* vocant, decem annorum exilio mulctatus est. Cujus fasti celerius Athenienses, quàm ipsum poenituit. Nam quum ille, forti animo, invidiæ ingratorum civium cessisset, bellumque Lacedæmonii Atheniensibus indixissent; contestum notæ ejus virtutis desiderium

CHAP. III. *By which Means, as he made the greatest Figure in the City, he fell under the same Odium, which his Father, and the rest of the great Men of the Athenians, had done. For he was punished with the Banishment of ten Years, by the Votes of the People, which they call Organism. Which Action the Athenians were sooner sorry for, than him self. For after he had given Way to the Hatred of his ungrateful Countrymen with a gallant Mind, and the Lacedæmonians had proclaimed War against the Athenians, im-*
mediately

* Scyrus is an Island of the Ægean Sea, a little above Eubœa.

† The Dolopes were a People of Thessaly.

‡ Thasus is an Island of the Ægean Sea, nigh the Coast of Thrace.

derium confectum est. Itaque post annum quintum, quo expulsus erat, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, satius existimans, eos & cives suos inter se unâ voluntate consentire, quàm animis contendere, Lacedæmonem suâ sponte est profectus, pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post neque in multo in Cyprum cum ducentis navibus, imperator nullus, quum ejus majorem partem insulæ devicisset, in morbum implicitus, in oppido Citio est mortuus.

CAP. IV. Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed in pace diu desideraverant. Fuit enim tamâ liberalitate, quàm compluribus locis prædia hortisque haberet, ut nunquam eis custodem posuerit, fructus servandi gratiâ, ne quis impediretur, quò minus ejus rebus, quibus vellet, frueretur. Semper eum pedalesque cum nummis sunt secuti, ut si quis opis ejus indigeret,

mediately a great Miss of his known Bravery and Conduct followed. Wherefore he was recalled into his Country, five Years after his Banishment. He, because he had a great * Friendship for the Lacedæmonians, thinking it better that they and his Countrymen should agree betwix themselves in the same Mind, than contend together with Arms, went to Lacedæmon of his own Accord, and made a Peace betwixt these two most powerful States. And not long after, being sent Admiral into Cyprus with two hundred Ships, after he had conquered the greatest Part of that Island, falling into a Dissemper, he died in the Town of Citium.

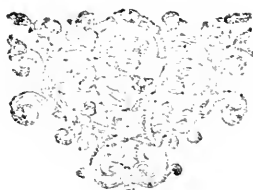
CHAP. IV. The Athenians had a Miss of him a long Time, not only in War, but in Peace. For he was a Man of so great Generosity, that having Estates and Gardens in several Places, he never placed a Keeper, upon Account of preserving the Fruit, lest any should be hindered from enjoying his Things as he pleased. Footmen always followed him with Money, that if any one stood in need of his Assistance, he might have

* *Hospitalium* properly signifies Lodging or Entertainment, but is likewise used for Friendship. For in the more early Ages of the World, before the Convenience of publick Inns was thought of, Persons that travelled lodged in private Houses, and were obliged to return the Favour to those that entertained them, if Need required. This was the Occasion of the most intimate Friendship betwixt the Parties, insomuch that they treated one another as Relations. Thence the Word *Hospitalium* came to signify Friendship founded upon that Bottom.

digeret, haberet, quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Sæpe, quum aliquem offensum fortunâ videret minùs bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Quotidie sic cœna ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro omnes devocaret: quod facere nullum diem prætermittebat. Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris desuit: multos locupletavit. Complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde efferrentur non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo minimè est mirandum, si & vita ejus fuit secura, & mors acerba.

*have to give him immediately, lest he should seem to deny him, by putting him off. Oftentimes when he saw any one * ill-handled by Fortune, he's handsomely clad, he gave him his own Coat. His Supper was so dressed for him every Day, that he invited all whom he saw in the Forum, not invited elsewhere, which he omitted to do no Day. His Faithfulness was wanting to none, his Service to none, his Estate to none: He enriched many. He buried at his own Charge many poor People when dead, who had not left wherewith they might be buried. It is not to be wondered at, if upon behaving himself thus, both his Life was secure, and his Death affecting.*

* I am afraid the Latin Text is corrupted here, *Offensus Fortunæ* being, in my Opinion, no very intelligible Expression.





VI.

LYSANDER,
Lacedæmonius.

VI.

LYSANDER, the
Lacedæmonian.

CAP. I.

LYSANDER Lacedæmonius magnus nam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate, quam virtute, patitur. Athenienses enim in Peloponnesios sexto & vigesimo anno bellum gerentes conficere apparet. Id quæ ratione concepit sit, latet. Non enim virtute sui exercitus, sed in modestiâ factum est adversariorum, qui quod dicto audientes imperatoribus suis non erant, disparati in agris, relictis navibus in hostium venerunt potentiam. Quo facto Athenienses se Lacedæmonii dederunt. Hæc victoriâ Lysander clatus, quum antea semper factiosus, audaxque fuisset, sic sibi inultis, ut ejus opera in maximum odium Græciæ Lacedæmonii pervenerunt. Nam quum hæc causam Lacedæmonii distulissent sibi esse belli, ut Athenien-

CHAP. I.

LYSANDER the Lacedæmonian left a great Name, got more by his good Fortune, than his good Behaviour. For it is apparent, that he conquered the Athenians, carrying on a War against the Peloponnesians, in the six and twentieth Year thereof. But how he effected that is but little known: For it was not brought about by the Valour of his Army, but by the ill Discipline of his Enemies; who, because they were not obedient to their Commanders, being dispersed in the Country, having left their Ships, came under the Power of their Enemies; upon which the Athenians submitted themselves to the Lacedæmonians. Lysander being devoted always a furious and a bold Man, gave himself so much Liberty, that by his Means the Lacedæmonians came under a very great Odium of Greece. For whereas the Lacedæmonians had said, that their Reason for

sum impotentem dominationem refringerent: postquam apud Ægos flumen Lyfander classis hostium est potitus, nihil aliud molitus est, quàm ut omnes civitates in suâ tene- ret potestate, quum id se La- cedæmoniorum causâ facere simularet. Namque undique, qui Atheniensium rebus studu- issent, ejectis, decem delegerat in unaquâque civitate, quibus summum imperium potesta- temque omnium rerum com- mitteret. Horum in numerum nemo admittebatur, nisi qui aut ejus hospitio contineretur, aut se illius fore proprium fide confirmâret.

*for the War was this, that they might curb the * outrageous Ty- ranny of the Athenians; after he made himself Master of the En-emy's Fleet at the River Ægos, he laboured nothing else so much, as that he might have all the Cities at his Devotion, whilst he pre- tended he did that upon the Ac- count of the Lacedæmonians. For those being every where turned out, who favoured the Interest of the Athenians, he chose ten in every City, to whom he entrusted the supreme Authority and Ma- nagement of all Affairs. Nobody was admitted into their Number, but who either was engaged to him by Friendship, or assured him by Promise, that he would be en- tirely his.*

CAP. II. Ita decemvirali potestate in omnibus ubi- bus constitutâ, ipsius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cujus de crudelitate ac perfidia satis est unam rem exempli gratiâ proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando fatigemus lecto- res. Victor ex Asia quum re- verteretur, Thasumque diver- tisset, quòd ea civitas præ- cipuâ fide fuerat erga Athe- nenses, proinde ac si indem firmissimi

CHAP. II. *The Decemviral Authority being thus established in all Cities, all Things were managed by his Direction. Concerning whose Cruelty and Persecutions it is sufficient to produce one Instance, for Example's Sake, I shew you will tire our Readers, by reciting op- many concerning the same sort. When he returned victorious out of Asia, and had taken a Turn to Thasus, because that had been a State of extraordinary Fidelity to the*

* *Impotent* signifies *weak* or *wanting Power* properly, yet is often- times applied to Persons in the greatest Power, as Kings and Princes; but then they are considered as under the Influence and Command of their Passions, and wanting Power to govern themselves, and keep within Bounds; thence it signifies *Extravagant, Proud, Intolerable*, as here.

† A River of Thrace falling into the Hellespont.

firmissimi solerent esse amici, qui constantes fuissent inimici, eam pervertere concupivit. Vidit autem, nisi in eo occul-
tasset voluntatem, futurum, ut Thasii dilaberentur, consule-
rentque rebus suis. ****

*the Athenians, as if those used to be the fastest Friends, who had been resolute Enemies, he was desirous to reduce it; but he saw, that unless he concealed his Design, it would come to pass, that the Thasians would slip away, and provide for their own Security. *****

CAP. III. Itaque decemvira-
lent suam potestatem, sui
ab illo constitutam sustule-
runt. Quo dolore incensus
iussit consilia reges Lacedæ-
moniorum tollere, sed senti-
ebat id se sine ope deorum
facere non posse, quod La-
cedæmonii omnia ad oracula
referre consueverant. Pri-
mum itaque Delphos cor-
rumpere est conatus. Quum
id non potuisset, Dodonam
adortus est. Hinc quoque
repulsi, dixit se vota sus-
cepisse, quæ Jovi Hammoni
solveret, existimans se Afros
faci-

CHAP. III. *Wherefore his Countrymen abolished his Decemviral Authority set up by him; with which Provocation being fired, he entered into a Design to take away the * Kings of the Lacedæmonians; but was sensible he could not do that without the Help of the Gods, because the Lacedæmonians had been accustomed to propose all Things to the Oracles. Wherefore first he attempted to † corrupt Delphos: When he could not effect that, he tried ‡ Dodona: being rejected here too, he said he had made a Vow, which he must pay to § Jupiter Ham-*

* The Lacedæmonians had two Kings at once, both of the Posterity of Hercules. They used to command their Armies, and were indeed more properly Generals only, than Kings; for their Power in the Government was but small, being subjected to the Censure of, and liable to be deposed by, the Magistrates called Ephori.

† It may seem a little wonderful, that these Oracle-mongers should all prove so backward to comply with Lyfander, since they might, it is likely, have been well paid for it, and their only Business and Trade was to tell Lies, and take Money. They must have looked upon his Design as rash, desperate, and impracticable; as what would bring them under a strong Suspicion of Corruption, lessen their Authority, and spoil their Trade; otherwise, no doubt, they would have been glad enough to finger his Money.

‡ Dodona was a City in Epire, famous for an Oracle of Jupiter.

§ The Oracle of Jupiter Hammon was in the Deserts of Libya, on the West of Egypt.

faciliùs corrupturum. Hâc spe quum profectus esset in Africam, multùm eum antistites Jovis scellerunt: nam non solum corrupti non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedæmona miserunt, qui Lysandrum accusarent, quod sacerdotes fani corrumpere conatus esset. Accusatus hoc crimine, judiciumque absolutus sententiis, Orchomeniis missus subsidio. occisus est à Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quàm verè de eo foret judicatum, oratio indicio fuit, quæ post mortem in domo ejus reperta est; in quâ suadet Lacedæmoniis, ut regiâ potestate dissolutâ, ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum: sed ita scripta, ut deorum videretur congruere sententiæ, quam ille se habiturum, pecuniâ fidens, non dubitabat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon Halicarnassæus dicitur.

CAP. IV. Atque hoc loco non est prætereundum factum Pharnabazi, satrapis regii. Nam quum Lysander, præfectus classis, in bello multa crudeliter avarèque fecisset, deque his rebus suspicaretur ad cives suos esse perlatum: petiit à Pharnabazo, ut ad Ephoros

*Hammon, thinking he should more easily bribe the Africans. When he was come into Africa with these Hopes, the Priests of Jupiter deceived him much; for they not only could not be bribed, but likewise sent Deputies to Lacedæmon, to accuse Lysander of having endeavoured to bribe the Priests of the Temple. Being impeached for this Crime, and acquitted by the Votes of his Judges, he was sent to the Relief of the * Orchomenians, and slain by the Thebans at † Haliartus. How truly they have judged of him, a Speech of his was a Proof, which was found in his House after his Death; in which he advises the Lacedæmonians, that dissolving the Regal Authority, a General should be chosen from among them all, to carry on the War; but so written, that it seemed to agree with the Advice of the Gods, which he, trusting to his Money, did not doubt he should have. Cleon of Halicarnassus is said to have written this for him.*

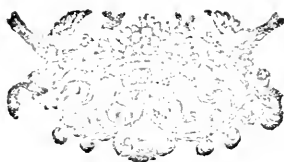
CHAP. IV. And in this Place an Action of the King of Persia's Viceroy, Pharnabazus, is not to be passed by. For when Lysander, being Admiral of the Fleet, had done many Things in the War, cruelly and covetously, and suspected that Advice had been carried to his Countrymen of those Things;

* The Orchomenians were a People of Ætolia.

† Haliartus, a City of Ætolia.

Ephoros sibi testimonium daret, quantâ sanctitate bellum gessisset, sociosque tractasset, deque eâ re accuratè scriberet; magnam enim ejus auctoritatem in eâ re futuram. Huic ille liberaliter pollicetur: librum gravem multis verbis conscripsit, in quo summis eum esset laudibus. Quem cum legisset, probâsseque, dum obviatur, alterum pari magnitudine, ut discerni non posset, signatum subjecit, in quo accuratissimè ejus avaritiam persequens e accusarat. Hunc Lyander demum quum redisset, postquam de suis rebus geitis apud maximum magistratum, quæ voluerat, dixerat, testimonii loco librum à Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc, summo Lyandro, quum Ephori cognovissent, ipsi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator.

he requested of Pharnabazus, that he would give him a Testimonial to the Ephori, with how much Integrity he had carried on the War, and treated their Allies, and that he would write fully as to that Matter, for that his Authority would be great in that Case. He gave him frankly, wrote a large Letter in many Words, in which he extols him with the highest Praises; which when he had read, and approved, whilst it is a sealing, he put in its Room another of the like Dignity, that it could not be distinguished from it, ready signed; in which he had charged him very particularly with his Covetousness and Treachery. After this, when Lyander was come Home, after he had said what he had a Mind to say the chief Magistrate, concerning his Exploits, he delivered the Letter given him by Pharnabazus, by Way of Testimonial. Lyander being ordered to withdraw, when the Ephori had looked it over, they gave it him to read; so he was unawares his own Destroyer.





VII.

ALCIBIADES,
Cliniæ filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

ALCIBIADES,
A Cliniae filius, Atheniensis: in hoc natura quid efficere possit, videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriae prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in amplissima civitate, summo genere, omnium ætatis suæ multo formosissimus: ad omnes res aptus, consiliique plenus. Namque imperator fuit summus mari & terrâ: disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret: & tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei dicendo posset resistere. Idem, quum tempus posceret, laboriosus, patiens, liberalis, splendidus, non minus in virâ quam victu: affabilis, blandus temporibus callidissimè interveniens. Idem, simul ac se remiserat, nec causa suberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidiniosus,

VII.

ALCIBIADES, the Son
of Clinias, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

ALCIBIADES, the
A Son of Clinias, the
Athenian: Nature
seems to have tried
in him what she
could do. For it is agreed upon,
amongst all who have written
about him, that nobody was more
extraordinary than he, either in
Vices, or in Virtues. Brought born in
a very great City, of a great Family,
much the handsomest Man of
all his Time: fit for all Things,
and abounding in Sense for the Management
of Affairs. For he was
a very great Commander, both
by Sea and Land; so eloquent,
that he mightily prevailed in
speaking: And such was the
Plausibleness of his Elocution and
Language, that in haranguing nobody
was able to stand before
him. The same Man, when Occasion
required, was laborious,
hardy, generous, splendid, no less
in his Equipage, than his Diet;
affable, fawning, very cunningly
serving the Times. The same
Man, when he had unbent himself,
and there was no Reason
why

linotus, intemperans reperiebatur: ut omnes admirarentur, in uno homine tantam inesse dissimilitudinem, tamque diversam naturam.

CAP. II. Educatus est in domo Periclis, privignus enim ejus fuisse dicitur, eruditus à Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Græcæ linguae eloquentiâ disertissimum; ut si ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona reminisci, neque majora posset consequi, quàm vel fortuna vel natura tribuerat. Ineunte adolescentiâ, amatus est à multis, more Græcorum; in eis à Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Symposio: namque eum induxit commemorantem se pernoctasse cum Socrate, neque aliter ab eo surrexisse, ac filius à parente debuerit. Posteaquam robustior est factus, non minùs multos amavit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum est, odiosa multa delicatè jocoseque fecit: que referremus, nisi majora potioraque haberemus.

CAP.

why he should take upon him any Labour of Thought, was found to be luxurious, dissolute, lustful, and intemperate; insomuch that all admired, that in the same Man there should be so much unlikeness to himself, and so different a Nature.

CHAP. II. He was educated in the House of Pericles (for he is said to have been his Step-son) instructed by * Socrates. He had for his Father-in-law Hipponicus, of all Men the ablest in the Eloquence of the Greek Language; that if he would have contrived for himself, he could neither have thought of more Advantages, nor have compassed greater, than either Fortune or Nature had bestowed upon him. In the Entrance upon his Manhood he was beloved by many, after the Fashion of the Greeks: and amongst them by Socrates, of whom Plato makes mention in his Symposium: For he has brought him in relating, that he lay all Night with Socrates, and rose from him no otherwise than a Son ought to do from his Father. After he was grown more a Man, he loved as many, in the Love of whom, so far as it was allowable by the Laws, he did many odious Things wantonly and jocosely; which we should relate, but that we have greater and better Things to relate of him.

CHAP.

* This Socrates was the greatest Man amongst the Ancients: Such a complete Master of his Passions, that one of the greatest Misfortunes that can befall a good Man, a scolding Wife, was not able to discompose or put him out of Temper in the least.

CAP. III. Bello Peloponnesiaco, hujus consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt: ad quod gerendum ipse dux electus est. Duo præterea collegæ dati, Nicias & Lamachus. Id quum appareretur, priusquam classis exiret, accidit, ut unâ nocte omnes Hermæ, qui in oppido erant Athenis, dejicerentur, præter unum, qui ante januam Andocidis erat, Andocidisque Hermes vocatus est. Hoc quum appareretur, non sine magnâ multorum consensione esse factum, quodd non ad privatam, sed ad publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudinî timor est injectus, ne quæ repentina vis in civitate existeret, quæ libertatem opprimeret populi. Hoc maximè convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod & potentior & major, quàm privatus existimabatur. Multos enim libertate devinxerat, plures etiam operâ for-

rensi

CHAP. III. In the * Peloponnesian War, by his Advice and Persuasion, the Athenians proclaim War against the † Syracusans; for the Management of which he was chosen General. Two Collegues besides were given him, Nicias and Lamachus. Whilst that Expedition was preparing for, before the Fleet went out, it happened, that in one Night all the ‡ Mercuries which were in the Town of Athens, were thrown down, except one, which was before the Door of Andocides, and was called the Mercury of Andocides. As it appeared, this was not done without a strong Confederacy of many, because it did not appertain to a private, but a public Concern; a mighty Terror fell upon the People, lest a sudden Violence should break out in the City, that should bear down the Liberty of the People. This seemed chiefly to agree to Alcibiades, because he was thought both more powerful and greater than a private Person: For he had obliged many by his Generosity, and rendered

* This Peloponnesian War was so called, because all the States of Peloponnesus joined in it, under the Command of the Lacedæmonians, against the Athenians. It began in the Year before Christ 403, and ended in the taking of Athens, after the fatal Battle of the River Egos, mentioned above, in the Year before Christ 405.

† Syracuse is still a noted City on the Eastern Coast of the Isle of Sicily.

‡ Mercury was reckoned the God of Thieves, and therefore they used to erect his Statues before their Doors, by Way of Prevention against the Attempts of Robbers and House-breakers.

rensi suos reddiderat. Quare fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotiescunque in publicum prodisset, ad se converteret, neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non solum in eo spem habebant maximam, sed etiam timorem, quod & obesse plurimum, & prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur etiam infamia, quod in domo sua facere mysteria dicebatur, quod nefas erat more Atheniensium; idque non ad religionem, sed ad conjunctionem pertinere existimabatur.

*rendered more his Friends, by his serving them in their Law Concerns. By which Means it came to pass, that he turned the Eyes of all People upon him, as oft as he went abroad; nor was any one counted equal to him in the whole City. Wherefore they not only had great Hopes in him, but a great Apprehension of him too, because he was able both to do them a great deal of Mischief, and a great deal of Service. He was likewise bespattered with Infamy, because it was said, that he celebrated the * Mysteries in his own House, which was a heinous Crime, according to the Usage of the Athenians; and that was supposed not to concern Religion so much, as to be an Argument of a Conspiracy.*

CAP. IV. Hoc crimine in concione ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille intuens, neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem, postulabat, ut si quid de se agi vellent, potius de presenti quaestio haberetur, quam abtens invidiae crimine accusaretur. Inimici vero ejus quiescendum in presenti, quia

CHAP. IV. *He was charged with this Crime in an Assembly of the People, by his Enemies: But the Time for going to the War was at hand. He considering that, and being not ignorant of the Custom of his Countrymen, insisted, that if they had a Mind to do any Thing about him, an Enquiry might be made about him whilst present, rather than that he should be charged with an invidious Crime when absent. But his*

* Rites, secretly performed in Honour of any God, were called *Mysteries*. Those here meant are the Mysteries of Ceres, worshipped in a singular Manner at Eleusis in Attica, nigh the Saronick Bay. None were admitted to the Celebration of these or any other *Mysteria*, but upon certain Conditions, one of which was an Oath of Secrecy.

quia nocere se ei non posse intelligebant, & illud tempus expectandum decreverunt, quo exisset, ut sic absentem aggredierentur; itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem, quod sacra violasset, reum fecerunt. Quà de re quam ei nuncius a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magnà spe provinciae bene administrandæ; non parere noluit, & in tîremem, quæ ad eum deportandum erat missa, ascendit: ac Thurios in Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderata civium suorum licentiâ crudelitæque erga nobiles: utilissimum ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem, clam se à custodibus subduxit, & inde primum Elidem, deinde Thebas, venit. Postquam autem se capitis damnatum, bonis publicatis, audivit, & quod usu venerat, Eumolpidas sacerdotes à populo coactos, ut se devoverent, ejusque devotionis quò testator esset memoria, exemplum in pilâ lapideâ incisum, esse positum in publico, Lacedæmonem demigravit. Ibi (ut ipse prædicare

*his Enemies resolved to be quiet for the present, because they were sensible they could not hurt him, and to wait the Time when he should go out, that so they might attack him when absent. And so they did. For after they believed he was got into Sicily, they impeached him, though absent, for having profaned the Holy Mysteries. Concerning which Affair when a Messenger was dispatched to him into Sicily by the Government, that he should return Home to plead his Cause, and he was in great Hopes of managing his Province successfully, he would not disobey, and went on board a Ship with three Banks of Oars, which was sent to bring him away; and arriving at * Thurii in Italy, considering much with himself of the extravagant Licentiousness of his Countrymen, and their Cruelty towards Men of Quality, judging it the most expedient to avoid the impending Storm, he privately withdrew himself from his Keepers, and went from thence first to † Ellis, and afterwards to ‡ Thebes. But after he heard that he was condemned to die, his Estate being confiscated, and, which had been usual, that the Priests called Eumolpidæ had been forced by the People to curse him, and that the Monument of that Curse might be more publick, a Copy*

K

of

* A City in the Country of the Brutii in the Bottom of Italy.

† A City in the West Parts of Peloponnesus.

‡ A City in the West Parts of Achaia, North of Athens, and the Metropolis of the Country called Bœotia.

dicare consueverat) non adversus patriam sed inimicos suos, bellum gessit, quod iidem hostes essent civitati. Nam quum intelligerent se plurimum prodesse reipublicæ, ex eâ eiecisse, plusque iræ suæ, quàm utilitati publicæ, paruisse. Itaque hujus consilio Lacedæmonii cum Persarum rege amicitiam fecerunt: deinde Deceliam in Atticâ munierunt, præsidioque perpetuo ibi posito, in obsidione Athenas tenuerunt. Eiusdem operâ, Ioniam à societate averterunt Atheniensem; quo factò, multò superiores bello esse cœperunt.

CAP. V. Neque verò his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi facti, quàm timore ab eo alienati. Nam quum acerrimi viri præstantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent; pertimuerunt, ne, charitate patriæ ductus, aliquando ab ipsis descisceret, & cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus ejus interficiendi quærere instituerunt. Id Alcibiadi diutius celari non potuit: erat enim eâ sagacitate, ut decipi non posset; præsertim quum animum attendisset ad cavendam. Itaque ad Tissapher-

nem

of the Curse was cut in a Stone Pillar, and erected in a publick Place, he removed to Lacedæmon: There, as he used to say, he carried on a War, not against his Country, but his Enemies, because the same were Enemies to the City. For because they understood that he could be very serviceable to the Commonwealth, they had turned him out of it, and had more Regard to the gratifying of their own Resentment, than the common Interest. Wherefore, by his Advice, the Lacedæmonians made an Alliance with the King of the Persians, and then fortified Decelia in Attica, and having placed a constant Garrison there, kept Athens under a Blockade. By his Means they took off Ionia from the Alliance of the Athenians; upon the doing of which they began to be much superior in the War.

CHAP. V. But they were not so much made Friends to Alcibiades by these Things, as they were alienated from him by Fear. For as they observed the excellent Conduct of this very active Man in all Things, they were afraid, lest, tempted by the Love of his Country, he should sometime revolt from them, and return to a good Understanding with his Countrymen. Wherefore, they resolved to seek an Opportunity to kill him. That could not be long concealed from Alcibiades. For he was a Person of that Sagacity, that he could not be deceived, especially when he applied his Attention

pem præfectum regis Darii
 ie contulit. Cujus quum in
 intimam amicitiam pervenis-
 set, & Atheniensium, malè
 gestis in Siciliâ rebus, opes
 senescere, contra Lacedæmo-
 niorum crescere, videret: ini-
 tio cum Pisandro prætore,
 quòd apud Samum exercitum
 habebat; per internuncios col-
 loquitur, & de reditu suo
 facit mentionem; erat enim
 eodem quo Alcibiades sensu,
 populi potentiæ non amicus,
 & optimatum fautor. Ab
 hoc destitutus, primum per
 Thraſybulum, Lyci filium,
 ab exercitu recipitur, prætor-
 que fit apud Samum. Post,
 suffragante Theramene, ple-
 bis cito restituitur, parique ab-
 sens imperio præficitur simul
 cum Thraſybulo & Thera-
 mene. Horum imperio tan-
 ta commutatio rerum facta
 est, ut Lacedæmonii, qui
 paulò antè victores vigerant,
 perterriti pacem peterent.
 Victi enim erant quinque
 præliis terrestribus, tribus na-
 valibus: in quibus ducentas
 naves triremes amiserant, quæ
 captæ, in hostium vene-
 rant potestatem. Alcibiades,
 simul cum collegis, re-
 ceperat Ioniam, Helleſpon-
 tum, multas præterea urbes
 Græcas, quæ in orâ sitæ sunt
 Asiæ, quantum expugnaverant
 complures; in his Byzan-
 tium;

tion to be upon his Guard. Where-
 fore he betook himself to Tisſapher-
 nes, Viceroy of King Darius, into
 whose intimate Friendship when
 he was got, and perceived the
 Power of the Athenians to de-
 cline, their Affairs being ill ma-
 naged in Sicily, and on the other
 hand, that of the Lacedæmonians
 to grow, he consers at first by
 Messengers, with Pisander the
 Commander, who had an Army
 at * Samos, and makes mention of
 his Return; for he was in the
 same Mind with Alcibiades, no
 Friend to the Power of the Peo-
 ple, and a Favourer of the Qua-
 lity. Being balked by him, he
 is received first of all by the Army,
 by Means of Thraſybulus, the
 Son of Lycus, and is made Com-
 mander at Samos. Afterwards
 Theramenes making Interest for
 him, he is restored by a Decree of
 the People, and though absent, is
 placed in the same Command, to-
 gether with Thraſybulus and The-
 ramenes. Under their Command,
 there was so great an Alteration
 of Affairs, that the Lacedæmoni-
 ans, who a little before had flou-
 rished as Conquerors, being very
 much terrified, sued for Peace;
 for they had been conquered in
 five Battles at Land, and three
 by Sea, in which they had lost
 two hundred Ships with three
 Banks of Oars, which being taken,
 had come under the Power of
 the Enemies. Alcibiades, together
 with

* Samos is an Island of the Aegean Sea, upon the Coast of Ionia.

tium; neque minùs multas consilio ad amicitiam adjunxerant, quod in captos clementià fuerant usi. Inde prædâ onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt.

with his Fellow Commanders, had recovered Ionia, the Hellespont, and many Greek Cities besides, that are on the Border of Asia, several of which they took by Force; amongst these Byzantium. Nor had they brought over fewer to their Alliance by their good Conduct, because they used great Clemency to the Conquered. After this being laden with Spoil, having enriched their Army, and performed very great Things, they came to Athens.

CAP. VI. His cum obviam universa civitas in Pyraeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad ejus triremem vulgus confluebat, perinde, ac si solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, & adversis superiores, & praesentes secundas res, accidisse ejus operâ. Itaque & Siciliae amissum, & Lacedaemoniorum victorias, culpae suae tribuebant, quod talem virum e civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causâ arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui praesse coepisset, neque terrâ, neque mari, hostes pares esse poterant. Hic ut navi egressus esset, quanquam Theramenes & Thrasylbulus cunctis rebus praesuerant, simulque venerant in Pyraeum, tamen illum unum omnes prosequiebantur: & (id quod nunquam antea usu

CHAP. VI. *When the whole City came down to Pyraeus, to meet them, such was the Longing of all People to see Alcibiades, that the Community flocked to his Ship, as if he had come alone. For thus the People were persuaded, that both their former ill Success, and their present good Success, had happened thro' his Means. Therefore they imputed both the Loss of Sicily, and the Victories of the Lacedaemonians, to their own Fault, because they had banished such a Man out of their City. Nor did they seem to think so without Reason: For after he began to command the Army, their Enemies were neither able to be a Match for them by Land nor Sea. As soon as he went out of his Ship, tho' Theramenes and Thrasylbulus had been in the same Command, and had come together with him into Pyraeus, yet they all followed him alone; and (that which had never happened before, unless to the*
Com-

venerat, nisi Olympiæ victoribus) coronis aureis æreisque vulgò donabatur. Ille lachrymans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens pristini temporis acerbitatem. Postquam astu venit, concione advocatâ, sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin ejus casum lachrymârit, inimicumque his se ostenderit, quorum operâ patriâ pulsus fuerat; perinde ac si alius populus, non ille ipse qui tum debat, eum sacrilegii damnâisset. Restituta ergo huic sunt publicè bona, eodemque illi Eumolpidæ sacerdotes rursus resekrare sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant; pilæque illæ, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare præcipitatæ.

CAP. VII. Hæc Alcibiadi lætitia minùs fuit diuturna. Nam quum ei essent omnes honores decreti, totaque respublica domi bellicque tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur; & ipse postulasset, ut duo sibi collegæ darentur, Thrasylbulus & Adimantus, neque id negatum esset; classè in Asiam profectus, quòd apud Cymen minùs ex sententiâ rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit; nihil enim eum non efficere posse dicebant. Ex quo fiebat ut omnia minùs prosperè gesta ejus culpe tribuerent, eum eum aut negligenter,

aut

Conquerors at Olympia) he was commonly presented with golden and brazen Crowns. He received this Kindness of his Countrymen weeping, remembering their Severity some Time before. After he came to the City, having called an Assembly, he spoke so, that no Body was so cruel, but he lamented his hard Hap, and declared himself an Enemy to those, by whose Means he had been banished his Country; as if some other People, and not that very same which then wept, had condemned him for Sacrilege. Wherefore his Estate was restored him at the publick Charge, and the same Priests, called Eumolpidæ, who had cursed him, were obliged to recall their Curses; and the Pillars, upon which the Curse had been written, were thrown into the Sea.

CAP. VII. This Joy of Alcibiades was not lasting; for after all manner of Honours had been voted for him, and the whole Management both at Home and in the War, delivered to him, to be carried on at the Pleasure of him alone, and he had demanded, that two Partners should be given him, Thrasylbulus and Adimantus, nor was that denied him; going with the Fleet into Asia, because he did not manage his Business at Cymen to their Mind, he again fell under their Hatred; for they thought he could do every Thing. From whence it was, that they imputed all Things, less successfully managed, to his Fault, because they said he

either

aut malitiosè fecisse loquerentur, sicut tum accidit. Nam corruptum à rege, capere Cymen noluisse arguebant. Itaque huic maxime patamus malo fuisse nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minus quam diligebatur, ne secundâ fortunâ, magnisque clavis opibus, tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum est, ut abienti magistratum abrogarent, & alium in ejus locum substituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit, & se Perinthum contulit, ibique tria castella communivit, Bornos, Byziam, Macrontichos; manumque collectâ, primus Græcæ in Thraciam introiit, gloriosius existimans barbarorum prædâ locupletari, quàm Græcorum. Quâ ex re creverat ejus fama cum opibus, magnamque amicitiam sibi cum quibusdam regibus Thraciæ pepererat.

*either acted carelessly or maliciously; as it then happened. For they alledged against him, that, being bribed by the King of Persia, he would not take * Cyme. Wherefore we think that their excessive Opinion of his Parts and Abilities was chiefly his Misfortune. For, he was no less feared than beloved; lest being elevated by his good Fortune and great Power, he should aim at the Sovereignty. By which Means it came to pass, that they took his Commission from him in his Absence, and put another in his Place. As soon as he heard that, he would not return Home, and betook himself to † Perinthus, and there fortified three Castles, Borni, Byzia, and Macrontichos; and having got together a Body of Troops, he entered into Thrace ‡ the first Man of Greece, thinking it more glorious to be enriched with the Spoils of the Barbarians, than the Greeks. From which Thing his Fame grew with his Riches, and he procured to himself a strong Alliance with several Kings of Thrace.*

CAP. VIII. Neque tamen à charitate patriæ potuit recedere. Nam quum apud Æges flumen Philocles prætor Atheniensium classem con-

CHAR. VIII. *However, he could not recede from his Affection for his Country. For when Philocles, the Admiral of the Athenians, had drawn up his Fleet at the*

* A Town of Æolia in Asia Minor, upon the Ægean Sea.

† A Town of Thrace, upon the Propontis, afterwards called Hieraclea.

‡ Our Author is here guilty of a strange Piece of Forgetfulness, having told us above, that Miltiades had before planted a Colony in the Thracian Chersonese, and made frequent Inroads into the neighbouring Country of the Thracians.

constituisset suam, neque longè quæssèt Lyfander prætor Lacedæmoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quàm diutissimè duceret, quòd ipsis pecunia à rege suppeditabatur: contrà, Atheniensibus exhaustis, præter arma & naves, nihil erat super: Alcibiades ad Athenientium venit exercitum, ibique, præfente vulgo, agere cœpit, si vellent, se coacturum Lyfandrum aut dimicare, aut pacem petere; Lacedæmonios eò nolle confingere classè, quòd pedestribus copiis plusquam navibus valerent: Sibi autem esse facile Suthen regem Thraciæ deducere, ut eos terrà depelleret. Quo facto necessariò aut classè conflicturos, aut bellum composituros. Id etsi verè dictum Philocles animadvertibat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quòd sentiebat se, Alcibiade recepto, nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum; & si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in eà re suam partem fore: contra ea, si quid adverti accidisset, se unum ejus delicti futurum reum. Ab hoc discedens Alcibiades, Quoniam, inquit, *victoriæ patriæ repugnas, illud moneo, juxta hostes castra habecas nautica. Periculam est enim ne impudèstia militum nostrorum occasio detur Lyfandro nostri opprimendi exercitus.* Neque ea res illum fefellit. Nam Lyfander, quum per speculatores com-

the River Ægos, and Lyfander was not far off, the Admiral of the Lacedæmonians, who was employed wholly in a Design to protract the War as long as possible, because Money was given them by the King of Persia; on the other hand, the Athenians being exhausted had nothing left besides their Arms and their Ships: Alcibiades came to the Army of the Athenians, and there, before the common Solldiery, he began to tell them, that, if they pleased, he would force Lyfander either to fight or beg Peace; that the Lacedæmonians were unwilling to engage with their Fleet for this Reason, because they were stronger in Land Forces than Ships; but that it was an easy Matter for him to bring down Scuthes, King of the Thracians, to drive them from the Land; upon which they would of Necessity either engage with their Fleet, or make an End of the War. Tho' Philocles observed that was rightly said, yet he would not do the Things desired, because he was sensible, that if Alcibiades was received amongst them, he should be of no Account with the Army; and if any good Success happened upon it, that his Share in the Matter would be none at all: On the other hand, if any ill Issue should fall out, that he alone should be called to an Account for the Miscarriage. Alcibiades, upon his departing from him, said, Since you oppose your Country's Success, this however I advise you, to have your Camp nigh the Enemy; for the Danger

comperisset, vulgum Atheniensium in terram prædatum existisse, navesque penè inanes relictas, tempus rei gerendæ non dimisit, eoque impetu totum bellum delevit.

Danger is, lest, by the disorderly Behaviour of our Soldiers, an Opportunity should be given Lysander of cutting off our Army. *Nor did that Thing deceive him; for Lysander, after he had found by his Scouts, that the common Soldiers of the Athenians were gone ashore plundering, and that the Ships were left almost empty, did not let slip the Opportunity of doing his Business, and at that Push made an End of the whole War.*

CAP. IX. At Alcibiades, visis Atheniensibus, non satis tuta eadem loca sibi arbitratus, penitus in Thraciam se supra Propontidem abdidit, sperans ibi facillimè suam fortunam oculi posse; sed falsè. Nam Thracæ, postquam eum cum magnâ pecuniâ venisse senserunt, insidias ei fecerunt; qui ea quæ apportavit abstulerunt, ipsam capere non potuerunt. Ille cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Græciâ, propter potentiam Lacedæmoniorum, ad Pharnabazum in Asiam transit; quem quidem ad eam suâ cepit humanitate, ut eum nemo in amicitia antecederet. Namque ei Grunium dedit in Phrygiâ castrum, ex quo quinquaginta talenta vectigalis capiebat. Quâ fortunâ

CHAP. IX. *But Alcibiades, after the Athenians were conquer'd, not thinking the same Places secure enough for him, hid himself a good Way up in Thrace, above the Propontis, hoping that his Condition might be very easily conceal'd there; but falsly. For the Thracians, after they perceived he was come with a great deal of Money, laid an Ambush for him, who got the Things which he brought with him, but could not catch him. He perceiving no Place was safe for him in Greece, by reason of the Power of the Lacedæmonians, went over to Pharnabazus into Asia, whom he so charmed with his courteous Behaviour, that nobody exceeded him in his Friendship. For he gave him Grunium, a Castle in Phrygia, from which he received yearly fifty * Talents Revenue; with which good Fortune Alcibiades*

* The Talent used in common Reckoning, was that of Attica, worth about 20s/.

nā Alcibiades non erat contentus, neque Athenas victas Lacedæmoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione, sed videbat id sine rege Persarum non posse fieri: ideoque eum amicū sibi cupiebat adjungi: neque dubitabat facile se consecuturum, si modo ejus conveniendi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare, Lacedæmoniis adjuvantibus, sciebat. Id si ei aperuisset, magnam se ab eo initurum gratiam videbat.

CAP. X. Hæc quum moliretur, peteretque à Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias, cæterique tyranni Atheniensium certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiores facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum; quas ipse Athenis constitulisset. Quare,

*biades was not content, nor could he endure, that conquered Athens should be subject to the Lacedæmonians. Wherefore he was bent, with the utmost Concern, upon delivering his Country; but saw that could not be done without the King * of the Persians; and therefore he desired to have him joined to him as his Friend. Nor did he doubt but he should easily compass it, provided he could but have the Opportunity of waiting upon him; for he knew that his Brother † Cyrus was privately levying War against him, with the Lacedæmonians assisting him, if he discovered this to him, he saw that he should be in great Favour with him.*

CHAP. X. *Whilst he was attempting this, and desiring Pharnabazus, that he might be sent to the King, at the same Time Critias, and the other Tyrants ‖ of the Athenians, dispatched away trusty Men into Asia to Lysander, to make him acquainted, that unless he took off Alcibiades, none of those Things would stand good, which he had Established at Athens. Wherefore, if he had a Mind to* A3:

* This King of the Persians was Artaxerxes Mnemon, Son of Darius Nothus.

† This Cyrus is commonly surnamed the Less, to distinguish him from the Grand Cyrus, the Founder of the Persian Monarchy. He was a Prince of great Abilities, according to Xenophon's Account of him, who was personally acquainted with him, and attended him in his Expedition against his Brother. He had been made by his Father Governor of Asia Minor.

‖ When the Lacedæmonians had reduced Athens, in the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, they vested the Government in a Council of Thirty, ever after called the Thirty Tyrants.

re, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur. His Lacon rebus commotus statuit accuratius sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic ergo renunciat, quæ regi cum Lacedæmoniensis essent, stare non posse, foederæque irrita futura, nisi Alcibiadem victum aut mortuum tradidisset. Non tulit hoc satrapes, & violare clementiam, quàm regis opes minui, maluit. Itaque misit Sysamithren & Bagæum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, quum ille esset in Phrygiâ, iterque ad regem pararet. Illi, clam viciniat, in quâ tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium, ut eum interficiant. Illi quum eum ferro aggredi non audent, noctu ligna contulerunt circa casam eam, in quâ quiescebat, eamque succenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem sonitu flammæ excitatus, quod gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris sui subulare telum eripuit: Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadiâ hospes, qui nunquam discedere volebat. Itaque sequi se jubet, & id quod in præsentia vestimentorum fuit amittit. His in ignem ejectis, flammæ vim transit.

*Acts should continue, he must look after him. The Lacedæmonian, being roused with this, resolved to deal roundly with Pharnabazus. Wherefore he tells him that the Alliance which the King had with the Lacedæmonians could not continue, and that the Treaties would be of no Effect, unless he delivered up Alcibiades alive or dead. The Viceroy could not bear that, and chose rather to violate the Laws of Clemency, than that the King's Interest should be lessened. Wherefore he sent Sysamithres and Bagæus to kill Alcibiades, whilst he was in * Phrygia, and preparing for a Journey to the King. The Persons sent privately give Order to the Neighbourhood in which Alcibiades then was, to kill him. They, not daring to attack him with the Sword, in the Night-time laid Wood about the thatched House, in which he was asleep, and set it on Fire, that they might dispatch him by Burning, whom they despaired could be mastered by Fighting. But he being awakened by the Crackling of the Flame, because his Sword had been privately withdrawn from him, drew out a Dagger of his Friend. For there was with him a certain Host of his of † Arcadia, who would never depart from him: He bids him follow him, and took up what Cloaths he had by him at that Time, and throwing them out into the*

* There were two Provinces of Asia Minor called Phrygia, the Bigger and the Lesser.

† Arcadia is a Country in the Middle of Peloponnesus.

transit. Quem et barbari incendium effusibilem viderunt, telis missis interreecerunt, caputque ejus ad Pharnabazum retulerunt. At mulier, quæ cum eo vivere consueverat, muliebri suâ veste contectum, ædificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades, annos circiter quadraginta natus, diem obiit supremum.

CAP. XI. Hunc infamatum à plerisque tres gravissimè historici summis laudibus exultant: Thucydides, qui ejusdem ætatis fuit; Theopompus, qui fuit post aliquantò natus; & Timæus; qui quidem duo maledicentissimi, nescio quomodo, in
mo

*the Fire, passes the Fury of the Flame. When as seen at the Barbarians fire at a Distance to have escaped the Fire, discharging their Weapons at him, they killed, and brought his Head to Pharnabazus. But the * Woman which had used to live with him, burnt him when dead, covered with her own Raiment, in the Fire of the House, which had been prepared to burn him alive. Thus Alcibiades ended his last Day, being about forty Years old.*

CHAP. XI. *Three very authentic Historians have extolled him, tho' blackened by most Writers, with the highest Commendations; Thucydides, who was of the same Age; Theopompus, who was born some Time after; and Timæus; Which two last, tho' much addicted to ill Language, I know not how,*

* Alcibiades seems, by this Account, to have been but very poorly attended for a Person of his Figure, whose Circumstances, though in Banishment, might very well have afforded him a much more considerable Equipage; since he had, by Virtue of Pharnabazus's Generosity to him, an Income of ten thousand Pounds a Year. But we are not to judge of Antiquity by the present Times, and think every Thing incredible, that does not square with the Way and Fashion of the World now-a-days. There was then a great Simplicity of Manners among the Greeks, which, with the Freedom of their Government, rendered them invincible; as the Luxury of the Persians, a beautiful, fashionable People, like us, together with their slavish Subjection to their Prince, rendered them an easy Prey to the Greeks, and made them fly like Sheep in the Day of Battle. There is Abundance of amazing Instances of this prodigious Difference betwixt the two Nations, in the History of Greece; which Consideration ought to produce in us a passionate Fondness of Liberty, that dear Delight of the best and bravest of Men, the Root and Support of all that is valuable in the World, and without which this Life is but a Sort of Hell upon Earth.

illo uno laudando confenserunt. Nam ea, quæ suprà diximus, de eo prædicarunt, atque hoc amplius: quum Athenis splendidissimâ civitate natus esset, omnes Athenienses splendore ac dignitate vitæ superasse. Postquam inde expulsum Thebas venerit, adeo studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum labore corporisque viribus posset æquiparare. Omnes enim Bæotii magis firmitati corporis quàm ingenii acuminis inserviunt. Eundem apud Lacedæmonios, quorum moribus summa virtus in patientiâ ponebatur, sic duritiæ se dedisse, ut parsimoniâ victus atque cultus omnes Lacedæmonios vinceret. Fuisse apud Thracas, homines violentos, rebusque venereis deditos: hos quoquè in his rebus antecessisse. Venisse ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriose vivere. Horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in his maximè admirarentur. Quibus rebus effecisse, ut, apud quoscunque esset, princeps poneretur, habereturque charissimus. Sed satis de hoc; reliquos ordinamur.

how, have agreed together in praising him alone; for they have related those Things of him, which we have spoken above, and this farther, that tho' he was born in Athens, the most splendid City in the World, he excelled all the Athenians in the Splendour and Dignity of his Life. After he came to Thebes, upon his being banished thence, he so applied himself to their Course of Life, that nobody could equal him in the laborious Exercises, and Strength of Body; for all the Bæotians mind more the Improvement of their bodily Strength than Acuteness of Parts. The same Man, amongst the Lacedæmonians, according to the Fashion of whom, the highest Virtue was placed in the enduring of Hardship, did so give himself up to a hard Way of Life, that he excelled all the Lacedæmonians in the Frugality of his Diet and Dress. That he was amongst the Thracians, drunken Fellows, and addicted to Lewdness; he quite outwent them too in these Matters. That he came amongst the Persians, with whom it was Matter of the highest Commendation, to hunt hard and live high. That he so imitated their Way of Life, that they themselves admir'd him prodigiously in these Things. By which Means he brought it to pass, that with whomsoever he was, he was reckoned a leading Man, and mightily beloved. But enough of him: Let us now proceed to the rest.



VIII.

THRASYBULUS, Lyci
Filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

THRASYBULUS,
T Lyci filius, Athe-
nienſis. Si per ſe
virtus ſine fortunâ
ponderandâ ſit, du-
bito an hunc primum omnium
ponam. Illi ſine dubio nemi-
nem præſeio, fide, conſtan-
tiâ, magnitudine animi, in pa-
triam amore. Nam quod mul-
ti voluerunt, pauci potue-
runt, ab uno tyranno patri-
am liberare, huic contigit,
ut à triginta oppreſſam ty-
rannis, è ſervitute in liberta-
tem vindicaret. Sed neſcio
quomodo, quum cum nemo
anteiret his virtutibus, multi
nobilitate præcurrerunt. Pri-
mum, Peloponneſio bello mul-
ta hic ſine Alcibiade geſ-
ſit: ille nullam rem ſine hoc:
quæ ille univerſa naturali quo-
dam bono fecit lucri. Sed
illa tamen omnia communia
imperatoribus cum militibus
& fortunâ, quod in prælii
concurſu abit res à conſilio
ad vires vimque pugnantium.
Itaque jure ſuo nonnulla ab
impera-

VIII.

THRASYBULUS, the Son
of Lycus, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

THRASYBULUS, the
T Son of Lycus, the
Athenian. If Virtue
is to be conſidered by
itſelf, without For-
tune, I am in Doubt, whether
or no I ſhould not place him the
firſt of all the Greek Commam-
ders. Without doubt, I prefer
nobody before him, for Honour,
Conſtancy, Greatneſs of Soul, and
Love to his Country. For what
a great many have deſired, but
few could effect, that is, to de-
liver their Country from one Ty-
rant, happened to him, to deliver
his Country oppreſſed by thirty Ty-
rants, out of Slavery into Liberty.
But I know not how, tho' nobody
excell'd him in theſe Virtues, many
outſtripp'd him in Fame. Firſt
of all in the Peloponneſian War,
he performed many Things with-
out Alcibiades: He did nothing
without him; all which, by a cer-
tain natural Advantage, he gain'd
the Credit of. But however, all
theſe Things are in common to the
Generals with the Souldiery and
Fortune, becauſe, in the Rencoun-

imperatore miles, plurima verò fortuna, vendicat: sequæ his plus valuisse, quàm ducis prudentiam, verò potest credicare. Quare illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thraſybuli. Nam quum triginta tyranni, prepositi à Lacedæmoniis, & viute oppressas tenerent Athenas, plurimos ciues, quibus in bello pepererat fortuna, partim patria expulsiſſent, partim interfeciſſent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se diuisiſſent; non solum princeps, sed & solus initio bellum his indicit.

CAP. II. Ille enim quum Platen confuſiſſet, quod est enacum in Attica munitissimum, non plus habuit tecum quàm triginta de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum: hoc robur libertatis clarissimæ civitatis. Neque verò hic contemptus est primò à tyrannis, sed ejus Alauda: quæ quidem res & illis contumeliosis perniciet, & huic despecto salvi, fuit. Hæc enim illos ad persequendum segnes, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum dato, fecit robustiores. Quò magis præceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet. Nihil in bello oportere contemni: nec sine causâ dici, Matrem

ter of a Battle, the Success proceeds from Conduct to Strength, and the Mettle of the Fighters. Wherefore the Soldier of Right claims finishing from the General, but Fortune very much; and so may truly boast, that she has always prevailed more in these Affairs, than the Prudence of a General. Wherefore that insoluble Action is entirely Thraſybulus's; for when the thirty Tyrants, set up by the Lacedæmonians, kept Athens oppressed in Slavery, and partly banished their Country, partly killed a great many Citizens, when Fortune had shared in the War, and divided their Estates, being confiscated amongst them, he was not only the principal, but the only Actor at first, that made War upon them.

CHAP. II. For when he first fled to Phleg, which is a very strong Castle in Attica, he had no more with him than thirty of his Countrymen. This was the Original of the Recovery of the Athenians; this the Strength of the Liberty of that most famous City. And indeed he was not so much despised at first by the Tyrants, as his being alone: which Thing was both the Ruin of those that despised him, and not the Security of him that was despised; for this rendered them too lazy to look after him, and made the others stronger, by the Time that was given them to make due Preparations. For which the more ought that Maxim to be in the Minds of all, That nothing ought

Matrem timidi flere non solere. Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctæ sunt opes; nam jam illis temporibus fortibus boni pro libertate loquebantur, quàm pugnant. Hinc in Pyreum transit, Munichiamque munivit. Hanc bis tyranni oppugnare sunt adorti, ab eoque rursus repulsi, protinus in urbem armis impedimentisque amissis, resugerunt. Unus est Thrasybulus non minus prudentiâ quam fortitudine: nam cedentes violari vetuit, cives enim civibus parere sequum censebat. Neque quisquam est vulneratus, nisi qui prius impugnare voluit. Neminem jacentem in se pollicuit: nil attigit nisi arma, quorum indigebat, et quæ ad victum pertinebant. In secundo pælio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, quam eundem adversus Thrasybulum fortissimè pugnaret.

CHAP. III. Hæc dejecto, Pericles venit Artici auxilio, rex Lacedæmoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum & eos qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his conditionibus: Ne qui, præter triginta tyrannos, & decem, qui postea prætoris creati, superstitis more crudelitatis erant, esset, alioquin exilio: neve cuiusquam boni publicarentur: respublicam

cught to be slighted in War, and that it is not just without a Reason, that the Mother of a Coward does not use to weep. However, Thrasybulus's Strength was not increased according to his Expectations. For even then at that Time, good Men spoke more bravely for their Liberty, than they fought for it. After that he went into Pyreus, and fortified Munichia. The Tyrants twice attempted to assault it, and being successfully driven from it, immediately fled into the Town, their Arms and Baggage being left. Thrasybulus made use of Prudence no less than Valour; for he forced those that fled to be hurt; for he thought it reasonable, that Citizens should spare their Fellow-Citizens; nor was any one wounded, but he that would first attack them. He killed no one as he lay, of his Enemies; he melted with nothing but Arms which he wanted, and Prisoners. In the second Battle fell Critias the Tyrants General, after he had indeed fought very bravely against Thrasybulus.

CHAP. III. He being slain, Pericles, King of the Lacedæmonians, came to the Assistance of the Athenians. He made a Peace betwixt Thrasybulus and those who had the Town, upon these Terms: That were besides the thirty Tyrants, and the ten, who being afterwards made Governors of the City, had used the Way of Cruelty, should be preserved with Sanction, nor

reipublicæ procuratio populo redderetur. Præclarum hoc quoquæ Thrasybuli, quod reconciliatâ pace, quum plurimum in civitate posset, legem tulit, ne quis anteaëtarum rerum accusaretur, neve mulcetur: eamque illi legem oblivionis appellârunt. Neque verò hanc tantum ferendam curavit, sed etiam ut valeret, effecit. Nam quum quidam ex his, qui simul cum eo in exilio fuerant, cædem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum fuerat; publicè prohibuit, & id, quod pollicitus erat, præstitit.

any one's Estate confiscated, and the Government of the Commonwealth restored to the People. This likewise was a famous Thing of Thrasybulus, that after a Peace was made, and he was the most powerful Person in the City, he made a Law that nobody should be called to an Account for Things past, nor punished; and they called that an Act of Oblivion. Nor did he only take Care that this should be passed, but likewise looked to it that it should take Place effectually: For when some of those, who had been together with him in Banishment, would have made a Massacre of those with whom they had returned to good Agreement; he publicly hindered it, and performed that which he had promised.

CAP. IV. Huic pro tantis meritis, honoris ergo, corona à populo data est, facta è duabus virgulis oleaginis: quæ, quod amor civium, non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam, magnæque fuit gloriæ. Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui septem sapientum numero est habitus, quum ei Mitylenæi multa millia jugerum agri muneri darent,
Nolite,

CHAP. IV. *A* Crown made of two Sprigs of Olive; was, by Way of Respect to him, given him by the People, for these eminent Services: which because the Love of his Countrymen, and not Violence had procured him, had no Hatred attending it, and was Matter of great Glory. Wherefore that Pittacus, who was reckoned in the Number of the Seven † Wise Men, when the*
Mityle-

* This is an Instance and a Proof of the Plainness and Simplicity of those Times, in Comparison of our own. The Olive was a Tree sacred to the Goddess Minerva, Patroness of their City; for the Heathens had, in every City almost, some peculiar God or Goddess, looked upon as the Guardian of the Place.

† These Seven Wise Men flourished about the Times of Cræsus; the rich King of Lydia, and Cyrus the Great, Founder of the Persian Monarchy, i. e. about 560 Years before Christ.

Nolite, rogo vos, (inquit) mihi dare, quod multi inuideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis nolo amplius quàm centum jugera, quæ & meam animi æquitatem, & vestram voluntatem indicent. Nam parca munera, diutina; locupletia, non propria esse consueverunt. Illâ igitur coronâ contentus Thrasybulus, neque amplius requisivit, neque ququam honore se antecessisse existimavit. Hic, sequenti tempore, quum prætor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset, neque satis diligenter in castris ejus agerentur vigiliæ, à barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione factâ, in tabernaculo interfectus est.

*Mityleneans * gave him a great many thousand † Acres of Land as a Present, said well, Do not, I beseech you, give me what many may envy me for, and more covet. Wherefore I will have no more of those than a hundred Acres, which may both shew the Reasonableness of my Mind, and your Goodwill. For small Gifts are lasting, but rich ones do not use to be of any long Continuance. Wherefore Thrasybulus, being content with that Crown, neither sought for more, nor thought any one exceeded him in Honour. He some time after, when being Admiral, he brought up his Fleet to Cilicia, and the Watch was not diligently enough kept in his Camp, was slain in his Tent by the Barbarians, in a Sally made out of the Town in the Night-time.*

* Mytilene was the chief City of Lesbos, an Island in the Egean Sea, nigh the Coast of Asia Minor.

† Though I have rendered the Word *Jugera*, Acres, yet it is only for Want of a better. *Jugerum* is a Piece of Land 240 Roman Feet long, and 120 broad, not much above half our Acre.





IX.

C O N O N, *Atheniensis.*

CAP. I.

C O N O N Atheniensis Peloponnesio bello accessit ad rempublicam, in eoque ejus opera magni fuit; nam & prætor pedestribus exercitiis præfuit, & præfectus classis res magnas maji gessit. Quas ob causas præcipuus ei honos habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis prætor: In qua potestate Pharus cepit, coloniam Lacedæmoniorum. Fuit enim extremo Peloponnesio bello prætor, quum apud Ægos flumen copie Atheniensium à Lyfandro sunt devictæ. Sed tum absuit, eoque pejùs res administrata est; nam & prudens rei militaris, & diligens erat imperator. Itaque non nisi erat his reponibus dubium, si adjuisset, illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.

CAP. II. Rebus autem afflictis, quum patriam obsideri audisset, non quæsit, ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed unde

IX.

C O N O N, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

C O N O N the Athenian came to be employed in publick Affairs in the Peloponnesian War, and his Service in it was of great Account; for he both commanded, as General, the Land Forces, and being Admiral of the Fleet, performed great Things by Sea: For which Reason a particular Honour was conferred upon him. For he alone governed all the Islands: in which Post he took Pharææ, a Colony of the Lacedæmonians. He was likewise a Commander in the latter End of the Peloponnesian War, when the Forces of the Athenians were defeated by Lyfander at the River Ægos. But he was then absent, and the Matter was so much the worse managed; for he was both well skilled in military Affairs, and diligent Commander. Wherefore it was a Doubt with nobody in those Times, that if he had been there, the Athenians would not have received that Loss.

CHAP. II. But the Affairs of the Athenians being now in a bad Condition, when he heard that his native City was besieged, he did

Unde præsidio esset civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum satrapen Ionie & Lydiæ, eundemque generum regis & propinquum: apud quem ut multum gratiâ valeret, multo labore multique effecit periculis. Nam quam Lacedæmonii, Atheniensibus devictis, in societate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant. Agesi- lumque bellum misissent in Asiam, maximè impulsu à Tissapherne, qui ex intimis regis ab amicitia ejus dese- cerat, & cum Lacedæmoniis coiërat societatem; hunc ad- versus Pharnabazum habitus est imperator: re quidem verà exercitui præfuit Conon, ejus- que omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Hic multum ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit, sæpeque ejus consiliis obstinuit. Neque verò non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agesilaum Asiam Tauro tenus regi fuisse erep- turum. Qui posteaquam do- mum à civibus suis revocatus est, quòd Bæotii & Atheni- enses Lacedæmoniis bellum in- dixerant: Conon nihilo rectius apud præfectos regis veritaba- tur, hisque omnibus maximo erat usui.

*not seek a Place where he might live securely himself, but from whence he might be assisting to his Countrymen; wherefore he betook himself to Pharnabazus, the Vice- roy of Ionia and Lydia, and the same likewise Son-in-law of the King and his Relation: with whom he procured himself a very great Interest, by his great Dili- gence, and the running of many Dangers. For when the Lacedæ- monians, after the Athenians were conquered, did not continue in the Alliance which they had made with Artaxerxes, and sent Agesilaus into Asia, to make War, being encouraged chiefly by Tissaphernes, who, of one of the King's In- timates, had quitted his Friend- ship, and dropped up an Alliance with the Lacedæmonians; Phar- nabazus was accounted the Gene- ral against him, but indeed Conon commanded the Arms, and all Things were managed at his Plea- sure. He very much curbed that great General Agesilaus, and often- times obstructed his Designs. And indeed it was very apparent, that if he had not been there, Agesi- laus would have taken all Asia, as far as Mount * Taurus, from the King. After he was recalled home by his Countrymen, because the Bæotians and Athenians had proclaimed War against the Lace- dæmonians; Conon notwithstand- ing continued with the King's Vice-*

CAP.

M 2

roys,

* A Mountain of Asia, that takes its Rise upon the Borders of Cilicia, and runs through the Middle of Asia.

roys, and was of great Service to them all.

CAP. III. Defecerat à rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi, quàm cæteris, erat apertum: multus enim magnisque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, si non facilè ad credendum inducebatur, reminiscens ejus se operâ Cyrum fratrem superâsse. Hujus accusandi gratiâ Conon à Pharnabazo ad regem missus, posteaquam venit, primum, ex more Persarum, ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperiû tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit, seque ostendit cum rege colloqui velle; nemo enim sine hoc admittitur. Huic ille, *Nulla, inquit, mora est; sed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis, an per literas agere, quæ cogitas. Necessè est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod ἀποσκνυειν illi vocant.) Hoc si tibi grave est, per me nihil secûs editis mandatis, conficies quod studeo.* Tum Conon, *Mihi verò, inquit, non est grave quomòdiis honorem habere regi:*

CHAP. III. *Tissaphernes had revolted from the King, nor was that so plain to Artaxerxes, as to other People; for he had a great Sway with the King, by reason of his many and great Services, even when he did not continue in his Allegiance. Nor is it to be wondered at, if he was not easily induced to believe it, remembering that he had conquered his Brother Cyrus by his Means. Conon being sent by Pharnabazus to the King, in order to accuse him, after he came to Court, first applied, according to the Custom of the Persians, to Tithraustes, Captain of the Guard, who had the next Degree of Power to the King himself; and informs him that he was desirous to speak with the King, for nobody is admitted without him. Upon which he says to him, There is no Obstacle to that; but do you consider whether you had rather talk with him, or treat with him by Letters, upon what you design. For it is necessary for you, if you come into his Sight, to * worship the King which they call ἀποσκνυειν. If this be*

* This Worshipping was falling flat on the Face upon the Ground before the King. The Greeks looked upon this as a Piece of base mean-spirited Submission, and could few of them be brought to comply with it. Nay, an Athenian Ambassador, having once submitted to worship the King, was put to Death for it by the Athenians, upon his Return Home, as having done a Thing highly reflecting on the Honour of his Country.

regi: sed vereor, ne civitati meæ sit opprobrio, si, cum ex eâ sim profectus, quæ cæteris gentibus imperare consueverit, potius barbarorum, quàm illius, more fungar. Itaque quæ volebat, huic scripta tradidit.

be troublesome to you, giving me your Instructions, you shall notwithstanding dispatch what you desire. *Then Conon replied, It is not indeed any Trouble to me to pay any Respect to the King: but I am afraid, lest it should be a Disparagement to my native City, if, tho' I proceed from a City, which has been accustomed to rule over other Nations, I should observe the Usages of * Foreigners, rather than that of my native City. Wherefore he delivered to him in Writing what he had a Mind to say.*

CAP. IV. Quibus cognitis rex tantum auctoritate ejus motus est, ut Tissaphernem hostem judicârit, & Lacedæmonios bello persequi jussit, & ei permiserit, quem vellet, eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optimè suos nolle deberet. Sed se suadere Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare est

CHAP. IV. Which Things being known, the King was so much wrought upon by his Persuasion, that he declared Tissaphernes an Enemy, and ordered him to fall upon the Lacedæmonians in War, and permitted him to choose whom he pleased, to disburse the Money for the Army. Conon denied that Choice was a Matter for his Determination, but his own, who ought to know his own Subjects best; but that he advised him to give that Employ to Pharnabazus. Upon

* The Word *Barbarus* is borrowed from the Greeks, amongst whom it was originally used to signify those that talked badly, or with Difficulty; and because that was commonly the Case of Foreigners, as to the Greek Tongue, it was used for all that were not Greeks. At last the Word was taken in an ill Sense; for the Greeks valuing themselves upon their Learning, Politeness and Humanity, by which indeed they stood remarkably distinguished from the rest of Mankind, in its Application to Foreigners, it had at length tacked to it an Intimation of their Deficiency in the noblest Ornaments of human Nature mentioned before; and at last of all was used for an ignorant, brutish, cruel Man, whether Foreigner or Greek.

est missus, ut Cypriis, & Phœnicibus, cæterisque civitatibus maritimis, naves longas imperaret, classemque, quâ proximâ æstate mare tueri posset, compararet; dato adjutore Pharnabazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedæmoniiis est nunciatum, non sine curâ rem administrant, quod majus bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quàm si cum Persis solùm contenderent. Nam ducem fortem, & prudentem, regiis opibus præfuturum, ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio, neque copiis, superare possent. Hâc mente, magnam contrahunt classem: proficiscuntur Pisandro duce: Hos Conon, apud Cnidum adortus, magno prælio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Quâ victoriâ non solùm Athenæ, sed etiam cuncta Græcia, quæ sub Lacedæmoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata est. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit: muros dirutos utrosque Piræi & Athenarum, reficiendos curat; pecuniæque quinquaginta talenta, quæ à Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

Upon this, being presented with great Presents, he was sent to the Sea, to order the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other Nations on the Sea-Coast, to furnish Men of War; and provide a Fleet, with which he might secure the Sea next Summer; Pharnabazus being given him as his Assistant, accordingly as he himself had desired. As soon as this was told the Lacedæmonians, they managed their Business not without Care, because they thought a greater War threatened them, than if they had to do with the Persians only. For they saw that a valiant and a wise General would command the King's Forces, and engage with them, whom they could outmatch neither in Conduct nor Troops. With this Consideration they get together a great Fleet; and go with Pisander for their Admiral. Conon setting upon them, near Cnidus, routs them in a great Fight, takes many Ships, and sinks many; by which Victory not only Athens, but likewise all Greece, which had been under the Yoke of the Lacedæmonians, was delivered. Conon came with Part of his Ships into his native Country, and takes Care to have the Walls both of Pyreus and Athens repaired; and presents to his Countrymen fifty Talents of Money, which he had received from Pharnabazus.

CAP. V. Accidit huic, quod cæteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratione in secundâ, quàm in adversâ esset fortunâ. Nam classe Peloponnesiorum

CHAP. V. *That happened to him, which happens to other Mortals, that he was more inconsiderate in his good, than in his bad Fortune. For having conquered the Fleet*

florum devictâ, quum ultum se injurias patriæ putaret, plura concupivit, quàm efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea non pia & probanda fuerunt, quòd potiùs patriæ opes augeri, quàm regis, maluit. Nam quum magnam auctoritatem sibi pugna illâ navali quam apud Cnidum fecerat, constituisset, non solum inter barbaros, sed etiam inter omnes Græciæ civitates, clam dare operam cœpit, ut Ioniam & Æoliam restitueret Atheniensibus. Id quum minus diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus præerat, Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem cum se mittere velle magnâ festina-

*Fleet of the Peloponnesians, when he thought he had revenged the Injuries done his Country, he aimed at more Things than he was able to accomplish. Neither yet were not these Things * expressive of his Duty to his Country, and commendable; because he chose rather to have the Power of his Country, than of the King, advanced. For after he had established to himself a great Authority by that Sea-fight, that he had fought at Cnidus, not only amongst Foreigners, but amongst all the States of Greece, he began to endeavour underhand to restore Ionia and Æolia to the Athenians. As that was not carefully concealed, Tiribazus, who was Governor of Sardis, sent for Conon, pretending that*

* The Word *Pius* seems manifestly derived from the Greek *ἥπιος*, mild, gentle, kind, such as a Man ought to be, in a distinguishing Manner, to his own Relations: Thence it was put to signify one that behaved towards such, with the Regard and Affection that was due to them. As a dutiful Son is, as such, properly called *Pius*; a Person likewise that carried himself with due Devotion or Submission towards the Gods, with due Loyalty or Affection to his Prince or Country, was upon that Account denominated *Pius*, and the Virtue in all these Cases called *Pietas*: But our Author talks here in the common Strain and Way of commending a Man for his Actions in Behalf of his Country, though without any Regard to Justice. It was a base Piece of Treachery in Conon to endeavour to debauch the Ionians and Æolians from their Allegiance, and far from being commendable. Had any body served Augustus so, Nepos would, it is likely, have been forward enough to condemn him. But a very little Consideration might have satisfied him, that what was criminal and villainous, when committed against an Emperour of Rome, was as certainly so, when committed against an Emperour of Persia. This Attempt of Conon's was too gross to admit of any Excuse, much less does it deserve the Commendation our Author bestows upon it: And therefore herein I think he has betrayed his Want of Judgment.

festinatione. Hujus nuncio parens quum venisset, in vincula conjectus est, in quibus aliquandiu fuit. Nonnulli eum ad regem abductum, ibique peris̄se scriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea, Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimū de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit; illud addubitat, utrū Tiribazo sciente, an imprudente fit factum.

that he would send him to the King in great Haste. After he was come to him in Obedience to his Message, he was put under Confinement, in which he was for some Time. Some have left it on Record, that he was carried to the King, and there put to Death. On the other Hand, Dinon the Historian, whom we chiefly give Credit to, as to Persian Affairs, writes, that he made his Escape, but doubts whether it was done with the Knowledge of Tiribazus or not.





X.

X.

D I O N, Hipparini Filius,
Syracusanus.

D I O N, the Son of Hip-
parinus, the Syracusan.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

D I O N, Hipparini
filius, Syracusanus,
nobiliti genere natus,
utrâque implicatus
tyrannide Dionysi-
orum; namque ille supe-
rior Aristomachen, sororem
Dionis, habuit in matri-
monio: ex quâ duos fi-
lios, Hipparinum & Nysæ-
um, procreavit, totidemque
filias Sophrosynem & Are-
ten: quarum priorem Dio-
nyfio filio, eidem cui reg-
num reliquit, nuptum de-
dit; alteram, Areten, Dio-
ni. Dion autem præter no-
bilem propinquitatem, gene-
rosamque majorum famam,
multa alia à naturâ habuit
bona: In his ingenium do-
cile, come, aptum ad artes
optimas; magnam corporis
dignitatem, quæ non mini-
mum

D I O N, the Son of
Hipparinus, the Sy-
racusan, was born of
a noble Family, and *
allied to both the
Dionysius's; for the first of them
had Aristomache, Dion's Sister,
in Marriage, by whom he had
two Sons, Hipparinus and Ny-
sæus, and as many Daughters,
Sophrosyne and Arete; the for-
mer of which he gave in Mar-
riage to Dionysius the Son, the
same to whom he left his King-
dom; the other, Arete, to Dion.
Dion, besides this noble Alliance,
and the generous Fame of his An-
cestors, had a great many other
Advantages from Nature: A-
mongst these a docible Genius,
courteous, fit for the best Arts;
great Handsomeness of Person,
which does not a little recommend
a Man; besides great Riches left
him

* Either our Author has here expressed himself a little carelessly, or else the Reading, I think must be faulty; for to me, the Words do not seem to express the Sense, which, it is plain from the following Words, he intended.

mum commendat: magnas præterea divitias à patre relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionysio priori, neque minus propter mores quam affinitatem. Namque, etsi Dionysii crudelitas ipsi displicebat, tamen saluum illum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causâ, esse studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus; ejusque consilio multum movebatur, tyrannus nisi quâ in re major ipsius cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes vero omnes, quæ essent illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur; quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando, crudelissimum nomen tyranni suâ humanitate tegebatur. Hunc à Dionysio missum Carthaginenses suspexerunt, ut neminem unquam Græcâ linguâ loquentem magis sint admirati.

him by his Father, which he had increased by the Tyrant's Presents. He was intimate with the first Dionysius, no less for his good Behaviour, than his Relation to him. For although the Cruelty of Dionysius displeased him, yet he was desirous he should be secure, because of his Alliance with him, and more upon Account of his Relations. He was assisting to him in all his weighty Affairs; and the Tyrant was much swayed by his Advice, unless, in any Case, some violent Humour of his own interposed. But all the Embassies, that were extraordinary, were undertaken by Dion; by discharging which carefully, and managing faithfully, he covered the most cruel Name of the Tyrant under his own Humanity. The Carthaginians admired him upon his being sent thither by Dionysius, so as they never admired any body, that spoke the Greek Tongue, more.

CAP. II. Neque vero hæc Dionysium fugiebant; nam quanto esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quo fiebat, ut uni huic maximè indulgeret, neque eum secus diligeret ac filium. Qui quidem, quum Platonein Tarentum venisse fama in Siciliam esset perlata, adolescenti negare non potuit, quin eum arcesieret, quum Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit ergo huic

CHAP. II. Nor indeed did these Things escape the Notice of Dionysius; for he was sensible how great an Ornament he was to him; from whence it was, that he indulged him alone very much, nor did he love him any otherwise, than as his own Son. Who too, when News was brought into Sicily, that Plato was come to Tarentum, could not deny the young Man, but sent for him, seeing Dion was inflamed with a Desire of hearing him. Wherefore he granted

huic veniam, magnâque eum ambitione Syraculas perduxit. Quem Dion adeò admiratus est, atque adamavit, ut se totum ei traderet. Neque verò minùs Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque, quum à Dionysio Tyranno crudeliter violatus esset, (quippe quem venundari iussisset) tamen eodem rediit, ejusdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius; quo cùm graviter conflictaretur, quæsit à medicis Dion, quemadmodum se haberet; simulque ab his petit, si forè majore esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur: Nam vellet se cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quòd sororis suæ filios ex illo natos partem regni putabat debere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt, sed ad Dionysium filium sermonem retulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi cum eo esset Dionis potestas, patri soporem medicos dare coëgit. Hoc æger sumpto, somno sopitus, diem obiit supinum.

CAP. III. Tale initium fuit Dionis & Dionysii similitatis; eaque multis rebus aucta est: Sed tamen primis temporibus, aliquandiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Quum Dion non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis

granted him the Favour, and by great Importunity drew him to Syracuse. If Dion was much admired and loved, that he gave himself wholly up to him. Nor was Plato less pleased with Dion. Therefore though he was cruelly abused by Dionysius the Tyrant, (for he had ordered him to be sold) yet he returned to the same Place, being prevailed upon by the Entreaties of the same Dion. In the mean Time Dionysius fell into a Dissembler, with which when he was grievously handled, Dion enquired of the Physicians, how he was; and at the same Time desired of them, if perhaps he was in great Danger, that they would confess it to him; for he had a Mind to talk with him about dividing the Kingdom, because he thought his Sister's Sons by him ought to have a Share of the Kingdom. The Physicians did not conceal that, and carried these Words to Dionysius the Son. At which being startled, that Dion might not have an Opportunity of talking with him, he forced the Physicians to give his Father a sleeping Dose. The sick Prince having taken this, being laid fast asleep by it, ended his last Day.

CHAP. III. Such was the Beginning of the Misunderstanding betwixt Dion and Dionysius; and that was increased by many Things: But yet at first, for some Time, a pretended Friendship continued betwixt them. And as Dion did not cease to beg of Dionysius, that he would send for Plato

thenis accesserit, & ejus consiliis uteretur; ille, qui in aliquâ re vellet patrem imitari, morem ei gessit; eodemque tempore Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno, quàm tyrannidi. Sed de hoc in eo meo libro plura sunt exposita qui de historicis confcriptus est. Plato autem tantum apud Dionysium auctoritate potuit, valuitque eloquentiâ, ut ei persuaserit tyrannidis facere finem, libertatemque reddere Saracusanis: à quâ voluntate Philisti consilio deteritus, aliquanto crudelior esse cœpit.

CAP. IV. Qui quidem, quum à Dione se superari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi; verens ne, si eum secum haberet, aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi: navem ei triremem dedit, quâ Corinthum devehereur; ostendens se id utriusque facere causâ, ne, quum inter se timerent, alteruter alterum præoccuparet. Id quum factum multi indignarentur, magnæque esset invidiæ tyranno, Dionysius omnia, quæ moveri pote-

Plato from Athens, and make use of his Advice; he, who had a Mind to imitate his Father in something, gave him his Humour; and at the same Time brought back Philistus the Historian to Syracuse, a Man not more a Friend to the Tyrant, than to Tyranny itself. But more has been said about him, in that Book of mine which was written about the Historians. But Plato wrought so much upon Dionysius by his Authority, and prevailed so by his Eloquence, that he persuaded him to put an End to his Usurpation, and to restore to the Syracusians their Liberty; from which Intention being dissuaded by the Counsel of Philistus, he began to be something more cruel.

CHAP. IV. Who when he saw himself excelled by Dione in Parts, Authority, and Love of the People, fearing lest, if he kept him with him, he should give him some Opportunity of ruining him; he gave him a Ship with three Banks of Oars, wherein he might go to * Corinth; declaring, he did it upon both their Accounts, lest, since they were jealous of one another, one of them should trepan the other. As many People were angry at the Fact, and it was to the Tyrant an Occasion of great † Hatred, Dionysius put on board some

* Corinth was a famous City in the Entrance of Peloponnesus from Achaia.

† I have several Times above translated *invidia* by *Hatred*; for so indeed it commonly signifies, a popular Odium or Hatred; and that Sense

poterant Dionis, in naves im-
posuit, ad eumque misit. Sic
enim existimari volebat, id se
non odio hominis, sed suæ sa-
lutis fecisse causâ. Postea verò
quàm audivit eum in Pello-
ponneso manum comparare,
sibi bellum facere conari,
Areten Dionis uxorem alii
nuptum dedit, filiumque ejus
sic educari jussit, ut indulgendo,
turpissimis imbueretur cupidi-
tatibus. Nam puero, prius-
quam pubes esset, scorta ad-
ducebantur: vino epulisque
obrucebatur, neque ullum tem-
pus sobrio relinquebatur. Is
usque eò vitæ statum com-
mutatum ferre non potuit,
postquam in patriam rediit
pater (namque appositi erant
custodes, qui eum à pristino
victu deducerent) ut se è supe-
riore parte ædium dejecerit,
atque ita interiêrit. Sed illuc
revertor.

*some Ships all the Substance of
Dion that could be removed, and
sent it to him. For he had a
Mind it should be thought, that
he had done that, not out of a
Hatred of the Man, but upon
Account of his own Security. But
after he heard that he was levy-
ing Troops in Peloponnesus, and
endeavouring to make War upon
him, he gave Arete the Wife of
Dion in Marriage to another, and
ordered his Son to be educated so,
that he might, by indulging him, be
tainted with the most filthy Lusts.
For * Whores were brought him,
when but a Boy, before he was
of Age: He was perfectly over-
whelmed with Wine and good
Cheer, nor was any Time left him
to be sober. He could not bear his
State of Life when changed, to
that Degree, that after his Father
returned into his Country, (for
Keepers were set over him, to
reclaim him from his former Way
of Life) he threw himself from
the upper Part of a House, and
so died. But I return.*

CAP. V. Postquam Co-
rinthum pervenit Dion, &
eodem

CHAP. V. After Dion came
to Corinth, and Heracles fled to
the

Sense it visibly has here. This little Remark is designed for the
Benefit of such Smatterers in the Latin Tongue as may be more dis-
posed to cavil than to learn. I warn them, once for all, to have a
Care of meddling, for fear of burning their Fingers.

* The Tyrant seems to have been of Opinion, that to debauch him
was the greatest Mischief he could do him; and so far he was un-
doubtedly right; because it was better, to be sure, to be hanged, or to
be dispatched any Way, at once, than to lead a Life of Lewdness and
Debauchery. But what a comfortable Opinion must the Brute have
had of himself in the mean Time, who was as lewd as any Body?

eodem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui præfectus fuerat equitum; omni ratione bellum comparare cœperunt: sed non multum proficiebant, quod multorum annorum tyrannis magnarum opum putabatur; quam ob causam pauci ad societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam suis copiis, quam odio tyranni, maximo animo, diabus oneratis navibus, quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum, centum peditum milibus, profectus oppugnatum; quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum, adeo facile percussit, ut post diem tertium quam Siciliam attigerat, Syracusas innoctavit. Ex quo intelligi potest, nullum esse imperium tutum, nisi benevolentia munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionysius, & in Italia classem openebatur, adversariorum ratus neminem sine magnis copiis ad se venturum: Quæ res eum fefellit; nam Dion iis ipsis, qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regios spiritus repressit, totiusque ejus partis Siciliæ potitus est, quæ sub Dionysii potestate fuerat; parique modo urbis Syracusarum, præter arcem & insulam adjunctam oppido; eoque rem perduxit, ut talibus passionibus pacem tyrannus facere vellet:

the same Place, being banished by the same Dionysius, who had been Commander of the Horse, they began to levy War by all Manner of Means: But they advanced but little, because an Usurpation of many Years Continuance was thought to be of great Strength; for which Reason few were brought to a Share of the Danger. But Dion, trusting not so much to his Troops, as the Hatred of the Tyrant, going to attack a Government of fifty Years Duration, defended by five hundred Men of War, ten thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand Foot, with the greatest Courage, in two Ships of Burden only; what appeared wonderful to all Nations, he so easily overthrew it, that he entered Syracuse the third Day after he had reached Sicily. From which it may be understood, that no Government is safe unless secured by the Affection of the Subjects. At that Time Dionysius was absent, and waiting for his Fleet in Italy, supposing that none of his Enemies would come against him without a great Force: Which Thing deceived him; for Dion curbed the Tyrant's Pride with those very Men that had been under the Dominion of his Adversary, and carried all that Part of Sicily, which had been under the Government of Dionysius: And in like Manner the City of Syracuse, except the Citadel, and the Island joining upon the Town; and brought the Matter to that, that the Tyrant was willing to make Peace upon these Terms.

vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syraculus Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dion.

Terms: That Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius Italy, and Apollocrates Syracuse, in whom alone Dion had the greatest Confidence.

CAP. VI. Has tam prosperas, tamque inopinitas res consecuta est subita commutatio; quod fortuna sua mobilitate, quem paulò antè extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primùm in filio, de quo commemoravi suprà, suam vim exercuit. Nam quum uxorem reduxisset, quæ alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet revocare ad virtutem à perditâ luxuriâ, accepit gravissimum parens vulnus morte filii: deinde orta dissensio est inter eum & Heraclidem: qui Dioni principatum non concedens, factionem comparavit: Neque enim minus valebat apud optimates, quorum consensu præerat clâssi, quum Dion exercitum pedestrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo æquo Dion, & verum illum Homeri retulit ex secundâ rhapsodiâ, in quo hæc sententia

CHAP. VI. *A sudden Change followed this mighty and unexpected Success; because Fortune attempted by her Fickleness to sink him whom she had raised before. She first of all exerted her Violence upon his Son, of whom I have made mention above; for, after he had taken his Wife again, which had been given to another, and was desirous to recover his Son to Virtue, from a State of desperate Luxury, he received as a Father a grievous Affliction in the Death of his Son. After that, a Difference arose betwixt him and Heraclides; who, not yielding the Superiority to Dion, formed a Party: For he was no less powerful amongst the * Quality, by whose Consent he commanded the Fleet, whilst Dion had the Land Army. Dion could not bear this with a patient Mind, and repeated that † Verse of Homer out of the second Rhapsody, in which is this Sentence,*

* In the Commonwealth of Greece, and so of Sicily, which was peopled from Greece, there were commonly two Factions; one, of those that were for an absolute Democracy, and the other, of such as were for a Sort of an Aristocracy, or for taking the Power out of the Hands of the Vulgar. Of the former Party were the common People, the Peasants, Artisans and Tradesmen chiefly: In the latter were generally the Cent'y, and People of better Fashion, which were therefore called *Optimates*.

† It is plain by this, and what follows, that Dion had no Intention of restoring the Syracusans to their Liberty, but only that they should change their Master.

sententia est: *Non posse benigni rempublicam multorum imperiis.* Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est: Namque aperuisse videbatur, se omnia in sua potestate esse velle. Hanc ille non lenire obsequio, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit; Heraclidemque, quum Syracusas venisset, interficiendum curavit.

CAP. VII. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem injecit; nemo enim illo interfecto se tutum putabat. Ille autem, adversario remoto, licentius eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se sensitisse militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisis, quum quotidiani maximi fierent sumtus celeriter pecunia deesse cepit: Neque, quod manus porrigeret, suppetebat, nisi in amicorum possessiones. Id ejusmodi erat, ut quum milites reconciliasset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum curam frangebatur; & insuetus male audiendi, non æquo animo ferebat, de se ab iis male existimari, quorum paulò antè in cælum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem, offensam in eum militum voluntate, liberius loquebatur, & tyrannum non ferendum dicebat.

tence, That a Commonwealth could not be well managed by the Government of many. Which Saying a mighty Odium followed: For he seemed to have discovered, that he intended, that all Things should be under his Authority. This he did not endeavour to allay by Compliance, but to suppress by Severity, and took Care to have Heraclides slain, when he came to Syracuse.

CHAP. VII. Which Action struck a mighty Terror into every Body; for nobody thought himself safe, after he was slain. But he, his Enemy being taken off, divided their Estates whom he knew to have been in these Sentiments against him, to his Soldiers very licentiously. Which being distributed, as his daily Expences were very great, Money quickly began to fail him: Nor was there any Thing to which he could reach his Hands, but the Possessions of his Friends: That was such, that whilst he gained the Soldiery, he lost the better Party. With the Care of which Things he was dispirited; and being unaccustomed to hear himself ill spoken of, he bore it not with an easy Mind, that he should be ill thought of by those, by whose Praises he had been exalted to Heaven a little before. But the common People, the Minds of the Soldiers being offended at him, spoke more freely, and frequently said that the Tyrant was not to be endured.

CAP. VIII. Hæc ille intuens, quum, quemadmodum sedaret, nesciret, & quorsum evaderet, timeret; Callicrates quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peloponneso in Siciliam venerat, homo & callidus, & ad fraudem acutus, sine ullâ religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem, & ait eum in magno periculo esse propter offensionem populi, & odium militum: quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui suorum negotium daret, qui se simularet illi inimicum: quem si invenisset idoneum, facilè omnium animos cogitaturum, adversariosque sublaturum, quòd inimici ejus dissidenti suos sensus aperti forent. Tali consilio probato, excipit has partes ipse Callicrates, & se armat imprudentiâ Dionis. Adeum interficiendum socios conquirat: adversarios ejus convenit: conjurationem confirmat. Res, multis consiliis, quæ gereretur, elata, refertur ad Aristomachen sororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illæ timore perterritæ conveniunt, cujus de periculo timebant. At ille negat à Callicrate fieri sibi insidias: sed illa, quæ agerentur, fieri præcepto suo. Mulieres nihilo secius Callicratem in ædem Proterpinæ deducunt, ac jurare cogunt, nihil ab illo periculi fore Dionis. Ille hæc religione non
modò

CHAP. VIII. *He seeing these Things, as he knew not how to put a Stop to them, and was afraid what the Matter would come to; one Callicrates, a Citizen of Athens, who had come together with him from Peloponnesus into Sicily, a subtle Fellow, and acute enough for the Management of any fraudulent Design, without any Religion and Honour, goes to Dion, and tells him, that he was in great Danger, because of the Disaffection of the People, and the Hatred of the Soldiers, which he could no Way avoid, unless he gave a Commission to some of his Friends, to pretend himself an Enemy to him: If he could but find one proper to his Purpose, he might easily know the Minds of them all, and take off his Adversaries, because his Enemies would discover their Sentiments to one disaffected to him. This Counsel being approved, Callicrates himself undertakes this Business, and arms himself by the Imprudence of Dion: He seeks Accomplices to kill him; he gives a Meeting to his Enemies, and completely forms the Conspiracy against him. The Matter which was carrying on, many being privy to it, being blabbed, it is carried to Aristomache the Sister of Dion, and his Wife Arete. They, being alarmed with Fear, go to him, for whose Danger they were concerned. But he denies that any Plot was formed against him by Callicrates; but that those Things, which were doing, were done*

modò ab incepto non deterri-
tus, sed ad maturandum con-
citus est, verens ne priùs
consilium aperiretur suum,
quàm conata perfecisset.

done by his Order. The Women notwithstanding bring Callicrates into the Temple of Proserpine, and oblige him to swear, that there should be no Danger to Dion from him. He not only was not deterred from his Undertaking by this sacred Obligation, but was pushed on to hasten the Execution, fearing lest his Design should be discovered, before he could accomplish what he attempted.

CAP. IX. Hâc mente, proximo die festo, quum à conventu se remotum Dion domi teneret, atque in conclavi edito recubisset, consiliis loca munitiora oppidi tradidit: domum custodibus sepsit, à foribus qui non discederent, certos præfecit; navem triremem armatis ornat, Philocrateque fratri suo tradit, eamque in portu agitari jubet, ut si exercere remiges vellet; cogitans, si fortè consiliis obstinisset fortuna, ut haberet, quò fugeret ad salutem. Suorum autem è numero Zacynthios adolescentes quosdam elegit, cum audacissimos, tum viribus maximis; hisque dat negotium, ut ad Dionem eant inermes, sic ut conveniendi ejus gratiâ viderentur venire. Hi, propter notitiam, sunt intromissi. At illi, ut limen ejus intrârunt, foribus obsertatis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: fit

CHAP. IX. *With this Design, the next Holy-day, whilst Dion kept himself retired, far from the Assembly of the People, and was laid down in an upper Room, he delivered to some of his Accomplices all the strong Parts of the Town; he surrounded the House with Guards; he placed trustly Men that should not depart from the Door; he mans a Ship with three Banks of Oars, and delivers it to his Brother Philocrates, and orders it to be rowed about in the Harbour, as if he had a Mind to exercise the Rowers; intending, if Fortune obstructed his Design, to have this to fly to for Security. He likewise chose out of the Number of his Men some * Zacynthian Youth, both very bold, and of very great Strength. And to these he gives Orders, to go to Dion unarmed, as if they seemed to come upon the Account of speaking with him. These, by Reason of their Acquaintance with*

* Zacynthus is an Island on the Western Coast of Peloponnesus.

fit strepitus, adeò ut exaudiri possit foris. Hic, sicut antè sepe dictum est, quàm invisa sit singularis potentia, & miseranda vita, qui se metui quàm amari malunt, cuivis faciliè intellectu fuit. Namque illi ipsi custodes, si propitià fuissent voluntate, foribus effraèdis, servare eum potuissent, quòd illi inermes telum foris flagitantes, vivum tenebant. Cui quum succurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracusanus per fenestras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus est.

with him, were let in : but they, as soon as they had entered his Door, bolting it, seize him lying on his Bed, and bind him. A Noise is made, so that it might be heard without Doors. Here, as has been often said before, it was easy to be understood by any Body, how odious arbitrary Power is, and how miserable the Life of those, who choose rather to be feared than loved. For those very Guards, if they had been Men of a favourable Disposition towards him, by breaking the Door, might have saved him, because they being unarmed held him alive, calling to those without for a Weapon; whom whilst nobody relieved, one Lyco a Syracusan gave them a Sword through the Window, with which Dion was slain.

CAP. X. Confectà cæde, quum multitudo visendi gratià introisset, nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeris rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant quibus tale facinus displicebat. Hi, falsà suspitione ducti, immerentes inermes ut sceleratos occidunt. Hujus de morte ut palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi immutata est voluntas. Nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitabant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulsores prædicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine, si possent, ab Acheronte cuperent

CHAP. X. After the Murder was committed, when the People come in to see him, some are slain by those that were ignorant of the Matter for the guilty. For a speedy Report being spread, that Violence had been offered to Dion, many had run together, whom this Fact displeased. These, moved by a false Suspicion, kill the innocent and unarmed, as if they had been guilty. As soon as publick Notice had been given of his Death, the Mind of the common People was wonderfully changed. For they who had called him, when alive, a Tyrant, called the same Man the Deliverer of his Country, and the Banisher of a Tyrant. Thus suddenly bad Pity succeeded.

cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimo loco, elatus publicè, sepulchri monumento donatus est. Diem obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus; quartum post annum, quàm ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat.

their Hatred, that they desired to redeem him with their own Blood from Hell, if they could. Wherefore being buried at the publick Expence in the most frequented Part of the City, he was honoured with a Monument of a Sepulchre. He died about fifty-five Years old; the fourth Year after he had returned out of Peloponnesus into Sicily.



M. IPHICRATES,



XI.

I P H I C R A T E S,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

I P H I C R A T E S,
I Atheniensis, non
tam genere aut
magnitudine rerum
gestarum, quàm dis-
ciplinâ militari nobilitatus est.
Fuit enim talis dux, ut non
solum ætatis suæ cum pri-
mis compararetur, sed ne de
majoribus natu quidem quis-
quam anteponeretur. Multum
verò in bello versatus, sæpe ex-
ercitibus præfuit: nuiquam
culpâ malè rem gessit; semper
consilio vicit, tantumque co-
valuit, ut multa in re militari
partim nova attulerit, partim
meliora fecerit. Namque ille
pedestria arma mutavit: quum,
ante illum imperatorem maxi-
mis clypeis, brevibusque hastis
minutis gladiis uterentur;
ille, è contrario, Peltam pro
Parmâ fecit, à quo postea
Peltastæ pedites appellaban-
tur, ut ad motus concursus-
que essent leviores. Hastæ
modum duplicavit, gladios
longiores fecit. Idem genus
loricarum mutavit, & pro
ferreis atque æneis lineas de-
dit.

XI.

I P H I C R A T E S,
the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

I P H I C R A T E S,
I the Athenian, was
not so famous for his
Family, or the Great-
ness of the Things
performed by him, as his military
Discipline. For he was such a Ge-
neral, that he might not only be com-
pared with the greatest of his Age,
but none of the old Generals could
indeed be preferred before him. But
having been much in War, he of-
tentimes commanded Armies: He
never managed his Business ill by
his own Fault; he always excelled
in Contrivance, and was so able that
Way, that he partly invented many
new Things in the military Art,
partly made Things better. For he
changed the Foot Arms: When, be-
fore he was General, they made use
of very great Shields, short Spears,
and little Swords; he, on the con-
trary, made the Pelta instead of the
Parma, from which the Foot were
afterwards called Peltastæ, that
they might be nimbler for Motion
and engaging. He doubled the
Length of the Spear, and made the
Swords longer. The same Man
changed the Kind of their Coats of
Mail

dit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detracto, quod æquè corpus teneret, & leve esset, curavit.

Mail and gave them Linen ones instead of Iron and Brazen ones; by which Act he rendered the Soldiers more light; for the Weight of their Coats being lessened, he provided what would equally secure the Body, and was light.

CAP. II. Bellum cum Thracibus gessit; Seuthen, socium Atheniensem, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tantâ severitate exercitui præfuit, ut nullæ unquam in Græciâ, neque exercitiores copiæ, neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci; in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut quum prælii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis operâ sic ordinatæ consisterent, ut singuli à periculissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu Moram Lacedæmoniorum interceptit; quod maxime totâ celebratum est Græciâ. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit; quo facto magnam adeptus est gloriam. Quum Artaxerxes Ægyptio regi bellum inferre voluisset, Iphicratem ab Atheniensibus petivit ducem, quem præficeret exercitui conductitio, cuius numerus duodecim milium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplinâ militari erudit,

CHAP. II. He carried on a War with the Thracians; restored Seuthen, the Ally of the Athenians, to his Kingdom. He commanded the Army at Corinth with so much Strictness, that no Troops were ever better exercised in Greece, or more obedient to their General, and he brought them to that Custom, that when the Signal of Battle was given by the General, they would stand so regularly drawn up, that they each of them seemed to have been posted by the most skilful Commander. With this Army he cut off the * Mora of the Lacedæmonians; which was mightily celebrated throughout all Greece. He routed all their Forces again in the same War; by which Action he acquired great Glory. When Artaxerxes was resolved to make War upon the King of Egypt, he desired Iphicrates for his General of the Athenians, that he might place him at the Head of his Army of Mercenaries, the Number of which was twelve Thousand; which indeed he so instructed in all military Discipline, that as formerly

* A choice Body of Men among the Lacedæmonians, concerning the Number of which Authors are not agreed, some making them to be five Hundred, some six, and some eight.

vīt, ut quemadmodum quondam Fabiani, milites Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenſes apud Græcos in ſummā laude fuerint. Idem ſubſidio Lacedæmoniis proſectus, Epaninondæ retardavit impetum: Nam niſi ejus adventus appropinquāſſet, non prius Thebani Spartā abceſſiſſent, quā cap- tam incendio delēſſent.

CAP. III. Fuit autem & animo magno & corpore, imperatoriæque formā, ut ipſo aſpectu cuius injiceret admirationem ſui: ſed in labore remiſſus nimis, parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriæ prodidit: bonus verò civis, fideque magnā; quod cum in aliis rebus declaraverit, tum maximè in Amyntæ Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice mater Perdiccæ & Philippi, cum his duobus liberis, Amyntā mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejuſque opibus deſenſa eſt. Vixit ad ſenectutem, placatis in ſe ſuorum civium animis. Cauſam capitis ſemel dixit bello ſociali ſimul cum Timotheo, eoque judicio eſt abſolutus.

*formerly the Roman Soldiers were called * Fabians, ſo the Iphicratenſians among the Greeks were in the higheſt Reputation. The ſame Man, going to the Relief of the Lacedæmonians, ſtopped the Progreſs of Epaminondas; for unleſs his Coming had been near at hand, the Thebans would not have departed from Sparta, before they had taken and deſtroyed it by Fire.*

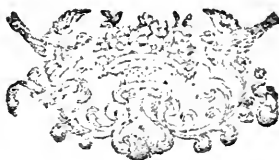
CHAP. III. *He was too a Man of a great Mind and Body, and the Appearance of a General, that by his very Aſpect he would have ſtruck any one with Admiration, but in Application to Buſineſs too remiſs, and little able to endure Hardſhip, as Theopompus has left upon Record; but a good Citizen, and of great Honour: which he ſhewed both in other Things, and eſpecially in protecting the Children of Amyntas the Macedonian: For Eurydice the Mother of Perdiccas and Philip, with thoſe two Boys, after Amyntas was dead, fled to Iphicrates, and was ſecured by his Power. He lived to a good old Age, with the Minds of his Countrymen well affected towards him. Once he was tried for his Life, in the Social*

* If the Roman Soldiers were uſed to be called Fabians, which is an Account given by none but our Author, that I know of. It was occaſioned by the Gallantry of the Fabian Family, that undertook to manage the War againſt the Veientes by themſelves, and were cut off 300 of them in one Battle, about 475 Years before Chriſt.

absolutus. Mnesthea filium reliquit ex Thresà natum, Coti regis filià. Is quum interrogaretur, utrum pluris patrem matremve faceret; Matrem, inquit. Id quum omnibus mirum videretur; At ille, Meritò, inquit, facio; nam pater, quantum in se fuit, Thracem me genuit; contra, mater Atheniensem.

* *Social War, together with Timothy, and was acquitted in that Trial. He left a Son, by Name Mnestheus, born of a Thracian Lady, the Daughter of King Cotus. He being asked, Whether he valued his Father or his Mother more, said, His Mother: As that appeared strange to every Body; But, says he, I do it for good Reason; for my Father, as much as lay in him, begot me a Thracian; on the other hand, my Mother made me an Athenian, as much as lay in her.*

* This was carried on by the Byzantians, Coans, Chians, Rhodians, and Mausolus Prince of Caria, against the Athenians, about 360 Years before Christ.





XII.

CHABRIAS,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

CHABRIAS Atheniensis. Hic quod in summis habitus est ducibus, resque multas memoriâ dignas gessit. Sed ex his elucet maximè inventum ejus in prælio quod apud Thebas fecit, quum Bœotiis subsidio venisset. Namque in eo, victoriâ fidente summo duce Agefilao, fugatis jam ab eo conductitiis catervis, reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere; obnixoque genu scuto, projectâque hastâ, impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id novum Agefilaus intuens progredi non est ausus, suosque jam incurrentes tubâ revocavit. Hoc usque eò in Græciâ famâ celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta

XII.

CHABRIAS,
the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

CHABRIAS the Athenian. He too was reckoned amongst the greatest Generals, and performed many Things worthy of Memory. But of these, his Invention in the Battle which he fought at Thebes, when he went to the Relief of the Bœotians, is the most famous. For in that Battle, that great Commander Agefilæus making himself sure of the Victory, the hired Troops being now routed by him, he forbade the rest of the * Phalanx to quit their Ground; and taught them to receive the Enemy's Attack, with their Feet rested against their Shield, and their Spear held out. Agefilaus, observing that new Contrivance, durst not advance, and called off his Men now rushing forward by Sound of Trumpet. This was so much celebrated by Fame in Greece, that Chabrias had

P a

* Phalanx properly signifies a Body of Macedonian Foot, sixteen Thousand in Number, drawn up in very close Order, armed with Shield and Spear. But the Word was used at last to signify any Body of Foot in close Array, as it is here.

stituta est. Ex quo factum est, ut postea athletæ, cæterique artifices, his statibus in statuis ponendis uterentur, in quibus victoriam essent adepti.

a Fancy to have the Statue made for him in that Posture, which was erected for him at the publick Charge by the Athenians in the Forum. From whence it was, that afterwards Wrestlers, and other Artists, in the erecting of their Statues, made use of those Postures in which they had gotten a Victory.

CAP. II. Chabrias autem multa in Europâ bella administravit, quum dux Atheniensium esset: multa in Ægypto suâ sponte gessit; nam Nectanebum adjutum profectus, regnum ei constituit. Fecit idem Cypri; sed publicè ab Atheniensibus Evagoræ adjutor datus; neque prius inde decessit, quàm totam insulam bello devinceret: quâ ex re Athenienses magnam gloriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Ægyptios & Persas confiatum est: & Athenienses cum Artaxerxe societatem habebant; Lacedæmonii cum Ægyptiis, a quibus magnas prædas Agefilaus rex eorum faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, quum in re nullâ Agefilao cederet, suâ sponte eos adjutum profectus, Ægyptiæ classi præfuit, pedestribus copiis Agefilaus.

CHAP. II. Chabrias likewise carried on many Wars in Europe, when he was General of the Athenians. He carried on many in Egypt of his own Accord; for going to assist Nectanebus, he secured his Kingdom to him. He did the same at Cyprus; but being given by the Government of the Athenians as an Assistant to Evagoras; nor did he depart from thence, before he had conquered the whole Island in the War: From which Thing the Athenians reaped a great deal of Glory. In the mean Time a War was commenced betwixt the Egyptians and the Persians; and the Athenians had an Alliance with Artaxerxes; the Lacedæmonians with the Egyptians, from whom Agefilaus their King got Abundance of Plunder. Chabrias seeing that, as he yielded in nothing to Agefilaus, going of his own Accord to assist them, commanded the Egyptian Fleet, Agefilaus the Land Forces.

CAP. III. Tum præfecti regis Persiæ legatos miserunt Athenas, quæsum, quòd Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum Ægyptiis. Atheni-

CHAP. III. Upon that, the King of Persia's Commanders sent Messengers to Athens, to complain, that Chabrias made War with the Egyptians against the King

Athenienſes diem certam Chabriæ præſtiterunt, quam ante, domum niſi rediſſet capitis ſe illum damnaturos denunciârunt. Hoc ille nuncio Athenas rediit, neque ibi diutius eſt moratus, quàm fuit neceſſe. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos civium ſuorum, quòd & vivebat lautè, & indulgebat ſibi liberaliùs, quàm ut invidiam vulgi poſſet effugere. Eſt enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes ſit, & libenter de iis detrahant, quos eminere videant altiùs: neque animo æquo pauperes alienam opulentiam intuentur fortunam. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimùm aberat. Neque verò ſolus ille aberat Athenis libenter, ſed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem; quòd tantùm ſe ab invidiâ putabant futuros, quantum à conſpectu ſuorum reſceſſent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraciâ, Timotheus Leſbi, Chares in Sigæo. Diſſimilis quidem Chares horum & factis & moribus; ſed tamen Athenis & honoratus & potens.

*King. The Athenians fixed Chabrias a certain Day, before which if he did not return home, they declared they would condemn him to die. Upon this Meſſage he returned to Athens, nor did he ſtay there longer than was neceſſary. For he was not very willingly under the Eyes of his Countrymen, becauſe he both lived very handſomely, and indulged himſelf more freely, than that he could poſſibly eſcape the Odium of the Vulgar: For this is a common Fault in great and free States, that popular Hatred is the Attendant of Glory; and they willingly take from thoſe whom they ſee tower above other People; nor do the Poor look upon the Fortune of the Wealthy with an eaſy Mind: Wherefore Chabrias, as far as was poſſible for him, was very much away. Nor was he alone gladly abſent from Athens, but almoſt all the great Men did the ſame; becauſe they thought they ſhould be juſt ſo far removed from popular Hatred as they retired from the Sight of their Countrymen. Wherefore Conon lived very much at Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus at Leſbos, Chares in * Sigæum. Chares was unlike them indeed, both in his Actions and Manners, but yet he was both honoured and powerful at Athens.*

CAP.

P 2

CHAP.

* A Town of Troas near the Hellespont,

CAP. IV. Chabrias autem perit bello sociali, tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienses Chium: erat in classe Chabrias privatus, sed omnes, qui in magistratu erant, auctoritate antebat: eumque magis milites, quàm qui præerant, aspiciabant: quæ res ei maturavit mortem; nam dum primus studet portum intrare, & gubernatorem jubet eò dirigere navem, ipse sibi perniciæ fuit. Quum enim eò penetrâsset, cæteræ non sunt secutæ. Quo facto circumfusus hostium concursu, quum fortissimè pugnaret, navis rostro percussa, cœpit fidere. Hinc quum refugere possêt, si in mare decisisset; quod suberat classis Athenienium, quæ exciperet natantem; perire maluit, quàm, armis abjectis, navem relinquere, in quâ fuerat vectus. Id cæteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, præstare honestam mortem existimans turpivitæ, cominus pugnans telis hostium interfectus est.

CHAP. IV. *Chabrias lost his Life in the Social War, in this Manner. The Athenians were assaulting * Chius: Chabrias was on board the Fleet without any Command, but he exceeded all those that were in Commission, in Authority; and the Soldiers more regarded him, than those that commanded them: Which Thing hastened his Death for him: For whilst he endeavours to enter the Harbour first, and orders the Master to steer the Ship thither, he was his own Ruin; for after he had made his Way into it, the rest did not follow. Upon which, being surrounded by a Concourse of the Enemy, whilst he fought very bravely, his Ship, being struck with a † Rostrum, began to sink. Though he might have escaped from thence, if he would have thrown himself into the Sea, because the Fleet of the Athenians was at hand, to have taken him up as he swam; he chose rather to perish, than throwing away his Arms, to quit the Ship in which he had sailed. The rest would not do that, who came off by swimming. But he, thinking an honourable Death better than a scandalous Life, was slain with the Enemies Weapons, fighting hand to hand with them.*

* An Island on the Egean Sea, on the Coast of Ionia.

† I have used the Latin Word, because we have none in our Language proper for the Purpose. It is here put for a strong, sharp Iron Spike, with which the Prows of the *Longæ Navæ*, or Men of War, were armed, in order to sink one another in Sea-Fights.



XIII.

*TIMOTHEUS, Cononis
filius, Atheniensis.*

CAP. I.

TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ. Multa hujus sunt præclarè facta, sed hæc maximè illustria. Olynthios & Byzantios bello subegit: Samum cepit, in quâ oppugnandâ, superiori bello, Athenienses mille & ducenta talenta consumpserant. Hanc ille sine ullâ publicâ impensâ populo restituit. Adversus Coty'n bella gessit, ab eoque mille & ducenta talenta prædæ in publicum detulit. Cyzicum obsidione liberavit. Ariobarzani simul cum Agelilao auxilio profectus est: à quo, quum Laco pecuniam numeratum accepisset, ille ci-
ves

XIII.

*TIMOTHEUS, the Son
of Conon, the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

TIMOTHEUS was the Son of Conon the Athenian. He increased the Glory received from his Father, by his many excellent Qualities; for he was eloquent, active, laborious, skilled in military Affairs, and no less in the Government of the State. There are a great many famous Actions of his upon Record, but these the most illustrious. He subdued the * Olynthians and Byzantians in War; and took Samus, in the assaulting of which the Athenians, in the former War, had spent a thousand and two hundred Talents. This he restored to the People, without any publick Charge. He carried on a War against † Cotys, and brought from him a thousand two hundred Talents of Plunder into the publick Treasury. He delivered
Cyzicus

* Olynthus was a City of Macedonia, not far from the Toronean Bay.

† Cotys was a King of Thrace.

res suos agro atque urbibus ægeri maluit, quam id sumere sujus partem domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Erichthonem & Sestum.

* *Cyzicus from a Siege. He went along with Agesilaus to the Assistance of † Arisbarzanes; from whom, whilst the Lacedæmonian received ready Cash, he chose rather to have his Countrymen enriched with Lands and Cities, than take that, Part of which he might carry to his own Home: And accordingly he received Erichthon and ‡ Sestus.*

CAP. II. Idem classi præfectus circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicam populatus, classẽ eorum fugavit. Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensem redegit; sociosque idem adjunxit Epirotas, Acarnanas, Chaonas, omnesque eas gentes quæ mare illud adjacent. Quo factò, Lacedæmonii de diutina contentione destiterunt, & suâ sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt, pacemque his legibus constituerunt: ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quæ victoria tantæ fuit Aticis lætitiæ, ut tum primum aræ PACI PUBLICÆ sint factæ, eique deæ pulvinar sit institutum. Cujus laudis ut

CHAP. II. *The same Man being Admiral of the Fleet, and sailing round Peloponnesus, having laid waste ¶ Laconia, defeated their Fleet. He reduced Corcyra under the Dominion of the Athenians; and joined with them as Allies the Epirotians, the ** Acarnanians, the †† Chaonians, and all those Nations which lie upon that Sea. After which, the Lacedæmonians desisted from their long Dispute, and, of their own Accord, yielded up the Command at Sea to the Athenians, and made a Peace upon these Terms; that the Athenians should be Commanders at Sea. Which Victory was the Cause of so much Joy to the Athenians, that then first of all Altars were erected to PUBLICK PEACE; and a § Bed ordered for that*

* Cyzicus was a Town of Asia Minor upon the Propontis.

† One of the King of Persia's Viceroy's in Asia Minor.

‡ A Town of the Thracian Chersonese upon the Hellespont.

¶ The Territory of Sparta in the South Parts of Peloponnesus.

** Acarnania was in the West of Achaia, joining upon Epire.

†† The Chaonians were a People of Epire.

§ It was usual with the Greeks and Romans to have rich Beds set up in the Temples of their Gods, upon which their Images were placed in their Festivals.

memoria maneret, Timotheo publicè statuam in foro posuerunt: qui honos huic uni ante hoc tempus contigit, ut quum patri populus statuam posuisset, filio quoquè daret. Sic juxta posita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

that Godless. And that the Memory of this glorious Action might remain, they erected a Statue to Timothy in the Forum at the publick Charge. Which Honour happened to him alone at that Time, that after the People had erected a Statue to the Father, they should give one to the Son too. Thus the fresh Statue of the Son, placed next the other's, revived the old Memory of the Father's.

CAP. III. Hic quum esset magno natu, & magistratus gerere desisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt cepti. Defecerat Samus, deficièrat Hellepontus, Philippus, jam tunc valens Macedo, multa moliebatur: cui oppositus Chares quum esset, non satis in eo præsidii putabatur; sit Mnætheus prætor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, &, ut ad bellum proficiscatur, decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo usu & sapientiâ præstantes, quorum consilio uteretur, pater & focer: quod in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset, per eos amissâ posse recuperari. Hi quum Samum profecti essent, & eodem Chares, eorum adventu cognito, cum suis copiis proficisceretur, ne quid absente se gestum videretur, accidit.

CHAP. III. When he was now old, and had given over bearing Offices, the Athenians began to be distressed in War on all hands. Samus had revolted; the Hellepont had left them; Philip the Macedonian, being then strong, attempted many Things: Against whom as Chares was employed, and it was thought there was not Security enough in him, Mnætheus is made Commander, the Son of Iphicrates, Son-in-law of Timothy, and a Decree is passed, that he should go to the War. Two, exceeding in Experience and Wisdom, are given him to * advise with, his Father and his Father-in-Law: Because there was great Authority in them, that there were great Hopes, that what had been lost might be recovered by them. After these were come to Samus, and Chares, having knowledge of their Coming, was going to the same

* The Words, quorum consilio uteretur, seem to have been put in the Margin by somebody, as a Gloss upon the Words in consiliis; and at last by some careless Transcriber of Books taken into the Text: For they are wholly needless.

accidit, quum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oriretur; quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati suam classem superpresserunt. At ille, temeraria usus ratione, non cessit majorum natu auctoritati; & ut in sua manu esset fortuna, quò contenderat, pervenit, eodemque ut sequerentur, ad Timotheum & Iphicratem nuncium misit. Hinc male re gesta, compluribus amissis navibus, eodem, unde erat profectus, se recepit, literasque Athenas publice misit, sibi proclive fuisse, Samum capere nisi à Timotheo & Iphicrate desertus esset. Quia eam rem in crimen vocabantur. Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiae, domum revocat: accusantur proditoris. Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus aestimatur centum talentis. Ille, odio ingratae civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.

same Place with his Forces, left any Thing should seem to be done in his Absence; it happened, as they were approaching the Island, that a great Storm arose; which the two old Commanders thinking it convenient to avoid stopped their Fleet; but he, taking a rash Course, did not yield to the Authority of his Elders, and, as if Fortune had been in his Power, came to the Place he had steered for. and sent a Messenger to Timothy and Iphicrates to follow him to the same Place. Upon this, his Business being ill managed, and several Ships being lost, he betook himself to the same Place from whence he had come, and sent Letters to Athens to the Government, that it had been an easy Matter for him to take Samus, if he had not been deserted by Timothy and Iphicrates. They were called to an Account for that Matter. The People being violent, suspicious, fickle, all against them, envious also of their Power, send for them home; they are impeached of Treason; Timothy is condemned in this Trial, and his Fine set at an hundred Talents. He, forced by the Hatred of the ungrateful City, betook himself to Chalcis.

CAP. IV. Hujus post mortem, quum populum judicii sui poeniteret, multa novem partes detraxit, & decem talenta Cononem filium ejus, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam, jussit dare. In

CHAP. IV. *After his Death, the People being sorry for their Sentence on him, took off nine Parts of the Fine, and ordered his Son Conon to give ten Talents, to repair a certain Part of the Wall: In which a Variety of*

In quo fortunæ varietas est animadversa: Nam quos avus Conon muros ex hostium prædâ patriæ restituerat, eisdem nepos cum summâ ignominîâ familiæ, ex suâ re familiari reficere coactus est. Timothei autem moderatæ, sapientisque vitæ, quum pluraque possimus proferre testimonia, uno erimus contenti, quòd ex eo facilè conjici poterit, quàm charus suis fuerit. Quum Athenis adolescentulus causam diceret, non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, sed etiam in eis Jason tyrannus, qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentissimus. His quum in patriâ sine satellitibus se tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo præsidio venit; tantique hospitem fecit, ut mallet se capitis periculum adire, quàm Timotheo, de famâ dimicanti, deesse. Hunc adversus tamen Timotheus postea, populi jussu, bellum gessit: Patriæ enim sanctiora jura, quàm hospitii, esse duxit. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium; Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei; neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illâ urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.








of Fortune was observed: For the Grandson was oblig'd with great Disgrace to his Family, out of his own Estate, to repair the same Walls, which his Grandfather Conon had rebuilt for his Country out of the Plunder of its Enemies. But tho' we could produce a great many Proofs of the moderate and wise Life of Timothy, we will be content with one, because it may be easily conjectured from thence, how dear he was to his Countrymen. When, in his Youth, he was upon a certain Occasion brought upon his Trial at Athens, not only his Friends and private Hosts met to defend him, but likewise amongst them, Jason a Prince of Thessaly, who at that Time was the most powerful of all others. He, tho' he thought himself not safe in his own Country without Guards, came to Athens without any Guard; and valued his Friend so much, that he chose rather to run the Hazard of his Life than be wanting to Timothy, now struggling for his Honour. Yet Timothy carried on a War against him afterwards, by the Order of the People: For he reckoned the Rights of his Country more sacred than those of Friendship. This was the last Age of the Athenian Generals; i. e. the Age of Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timothy: neither was there any General in that City worth mentioning after their Death.



XIV.

D A T A M E S.








CAP. I.

 ENIO nunc ad
 V  fortissimum virum,
  maximūque consilii,
  omnium barbaro-
 rum, exceptis duo-
 bus Carthaginensibus, Hamil-
 care & Hannibale. De quo
 hoc plura eferemus, quod
 & obscuriora sunt ejus gesta
 pleraque, & ea quæ prosperè
 ei cesserunt, non magnitudine
 copiarum, sed consilio, quo
 tum omnes superabat, acci-
 derunt. Quorum nisi ratio
 explicata fuerit, res apparere
 non potuerunt. Datames pa-
 tre Camissare, matre Scythia, natus. Pri-
 mum nullum numero fuit
 apud Artaxerxem eorum qui
 regiam tuebantur. Pater ejus
 Camissares, quod & manu for-
 tis, & bello strenuus, & regi
 multis locis fidelis erat reper-
 tus, habuit provinciam Cilicie
 juxta Cappadociam, quam in-
 colunt Leucosyri. Datames
 militare munus fungens, pri-
 mum qualis esset aperuit, bel-
 lo quod rex adversus Cadusios
 gessit: Namque hic, multis
 millibus hostium & regionum
 inter-

XIV.

D A T A M E S.

CHAP. I.

 COME now to the
 I  bravest Man, and a
  Man of the greatest
  Conduct, of all the
 Barbarians; except
 the two Carthaginians, Hamilcar
 and Hannibal: Concerning whom
 I shall say the more, because most
 of his Actions are somewhat ob-
 scure, and the Things that succeeded
 well with him were brought about,
 not by the Greatness of Force
 but Conduct, in which he exceed-
 ed all Men at that Time: The
 Manner of which unless it be
 declared, the Things themselves
 cannot appear. Datames was
 come of a Father, by Name
 Camissares, and by Nation a
 Scythian; of a Mother that was
 a Scythian. He was first of all
 one of these Soldiers under Arta-
 xerxes, who defended the Palace.
 His Father Camissares, because he
 had been found brave and active
 in War, and faithful to the King,
 upon many Occasions, had the Pro-
 vince of Cilicia, near Cappadocia,
 which the Leucosyrians inhabit.
 Datames following the Business of
 a Soldier, first discovered what he
 was, in the War which the King
 carried

interfectis, magni fuit ejus opera. Quo factum est, ut quum in eo bello cecidisset Camissares, paterna ei tradetur provincia.

carried on against the Calusions: For here, after a great night's Fight, of the Enemies, and the King's Men were slain, his Service was of great Account. For which Reason it was, that Camissares having fallen in that War, his Father's Province was given him.

CAP. II. Pari se virtute postea præbuit, quum Auto-phradates jussu regis bello persequeretur eos, qui deseruerant: Namque ejus operâ hostes, quum castra jam intrassent, profligati sunt, exercitusque reliquus conservatus regis est. Quâ ex re majoribus rebus præesse cœpit. Erat eo tempore Thyus, dynastes Paphlagoniæ, antiquo genere natus, à Pylæmene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello à Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regni dicto audiens non erat; quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit, eique rei præfecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis; namque ex fratre & sorore erant nati. Quam ob causam Datames omnia primùm experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem quum venisset sine præsidio, quòd ab amico nullas veretur insidias, penè interiit. Nam Thyus eum clam interficere

CHAP. II. He afterwards behaved himself with the like Gallantry, when Auto-phradates, by the King's Order, fell upon those who had revolted: For by his Means the Enemies, after they had now entered the Camp, were routed, and the rest of the King's Army was saved. After which Thing he began to command in greater Affairs. There at that Time was Prince of Paphlagonia, of an ancient Family, descended from that Pylomenes, who, Homer says, was slain by Patroclus in the Trojan War. He was not obedient to the King; for which Reason he was bid to fall upon him in a War, and placed Datames over that Affair, a Relation of the Paphlagonians, for they were Brother's and Sister's Children. For which Reason Datames had a Mind to try all Things first, to bring him to his Relation to his Duty, without doing him any Harm, because he feared no Treachery from a Friend, he had like to have lost his Life. For

Q 2

Thyus

* Paphlagonia was a Country in Asia Minor, bordering upon the Euxine Sea.

terficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame amita Paphlagonis: ea, quid ageretur, rescit, filiumque monuit. Ille fugâ periculum evitavit, bellumque indixit Thyo. In quo quum ab Ariobarzane, præfecto Lydiæ & Ionæ, totiusque Phrygiæ, desertus esset, nihilo segnius perseveravit, vivumque Thyum cepit, cum uxore & liberis.

Thyus designed to have killed him privately. His Mother was with Datames, the Aunt of the Paphlagonian; she understood what was doing, and warned her Son of it. He avoided the Danger by Flight, and proclaimed War against Thyus; in which, though he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the Governor of Lydia, and Ionia, and all Phrygia, he persisted nevertheless vigorously, and took Thyus alive, with his Wife and Children.

CAP. III. Cujus facti ne prius fama ad regem, quam ipse perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis, eò ubi erat rex, venit; posteroque die Thyum, hominem maximi corporis, terribilique facie, quod & niger, & capillo longo, barbæque erat prolixa, optimâ veste contextit, quam iatræpæ regii genere consueverant. Ornâvit etiam torque, atque armillis aureis, cæteroque regio cultu. Ipse agresti, duplicique, aniculo circumdatus, hirtæque tunicâ, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextrâ manu clavam, sinistrâ copulam, quâ vinctum ante se Thyum agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret. Quem quum omnes prospicerent, propter novitatem ornatus ignotamque formam, ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit non nemo qui agnosceret Thyum, regique nuntiaret. Primo non accredit:

CHAP. III. The Fame of which Fact he did his Endeavour should not come to the King, before himself. Wherefore he came to the Place where the King was, whilst all People were ignorant of it; and the Day after clothed Thyus, a Man of huge Body, and terrible Countenance, because he was both black, and had long Hair, and a long Beard, in a fine Robe, which the King's Viceroy used to wear. He dressed him up likewise in a Chain and Bracelets of Gold, and the other royal Apparel. He being clad in a rustick Coat double, with a coarse Tunic, wearing a Hunter's Cap upon his Head, and having in his right Hand a Club, in his left a Chain, in which he drove Thyus bound before him, as if he was carrying a wild Beast which he had taken. Whom whilst all People gazed at, because of the Oddness of the Dress, and for that Reason a great Crowd was gathered about him, there was somebody who knew Thyus,

and

dit: Itque Pharnabazum misit exploratum; à quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti jussit, magnopere delectatus cum facto, tum ornatu: in primis, quòd nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnificè Datamen donatum ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur, duce Pharnabazo & Tithrauste, ad bellum Ægyptium, parique eum atque illos imperio esse jussit. Postea verò quàm Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.

and told the King. At first he did not believe it: wherefore he sent Pharnabazus to enquire; from whom, as soon as he understood the Thing done, he ordered him immediately to be admitted, and was mightily pleased both with the Fact, and the Dress; especially, that a noble King was come into his Possession, whilst he was unaware of it. Wherefore he sent Datames nobly presented to the Army which was then raising under the Generals Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, for the Egyptian War, and ordered him to be in the same Command as they; but after the King recalled Pharnabazus, the chief Direction of the War was delivered to him.

CAP. IV. Hic quum maximo studio compararet exercitum, Ægyptumque proficisci pararet, subito à rege literæ sunt ei missæ, ut Aspim aggrediretur, qui Cataoniam tenebat; quæ gens jacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociæ. Namque Aspis saltuosam regionem, castellisque munitam incolens, non solum imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat, & quæ regi portarentur, abripiebat. Datames, etsi longè aberat ab his regionibus, & à majore re abstraheretur, tamen

CHAP. IV. *Whilst he was raising an Army with the utmost Application, and was preparing to march for Egypt, a Letter was suddenly sent him by the King, to attack Aspis, who held * Cataonia; which Nation lies above Cilicia, bordering upon Cappadocia. For Aspis, inhabiting a woody Country, and fortified with Castles, did not only disobey the King's Authority, but likewise harassed the neighbouring Countries, and intercepted what was carried that Way for the King. Datames, though he was a great Way from those Parts, and was taken from a greater Matter,*
yet

* Cataonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, are all Provinces in the East Parts of Asia Minor.

tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis sed viris fortibus navem conscendit; existimans, id quod accidit, facilius se imprudentem & imparatum parvâ manu oppressurum quam paratum quamvis magno exercitu. Hâc delatus, in Ciliciam egressus, inde dies noctesque iter faciens, Taurum transiit, eoque quod studuerat, venit. Quærit quibus locis sit Aspis; cognoscit haud longè abesse, profectumque eum venatum: Quem dum speculatur, adventus ejus causa cognoscitur. Pisidas, cum iis quos secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma capit, suos sequi jubet. Ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur; quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem pertimescit; atque à conatu resistendi deteritus sese dedit. Hunc Datames victum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridaci.

CAP. V. Hæc dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiscens à quanto bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum misisset, se ipse reprehendit, & nuncium ad exercitum Acen misit, quod nondum

yet thought it necessary to pay Obedience to the King's Pleasure. Wherefore he goes aboard a Ship with a few but stout Men, thinking that, which fell out, that he might more easily master him, unware of him, and unprepared, with a small Force, than prepared for him, with any Army how great soever. Arriving in this Ship in Cilicia, and landing, making his March Night and Day, he passed Taurus, and came to the Place which he had intended for. He enquires in what Parts Aspis was: He understands he was not far off, and was gone hunting: Whom whilst he lies in wait for, the Reason of his coming is known. Aspis prepares the * Pisidians, and those he had with him, for a Resistance. When Datames heard that, he takes Arms, and orders his Men to follow him. He, putting on his Horse, rides towards the Enemy; whom Aspis seeing at a Distance coming towards him, affrighted and deterred from his Attempt of resisting, surrenders himself. Datames delivers him bound to Mithridates, to be led to the King.

CHAP. V. Whilst these Things are doing, Artaxerxes considering from how great a War, to what an inconsiderable Business, he had sent the greatest of his Generals, blamed himself for it, and dispatches away a Messenger to

* Pisidia is a Country of Asia Minor beyond Caria, bordering upon Lycia and Pamphylia.

dum Datamen profectum, putabat, qui ei diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic, priusquam perveniret, quo erat profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspis ducebant. Quâ celeritate quum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames conceitus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit, quod illum unum pluris, quam se omnes, fieri videbant: Quo facto, cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Hæc Pandates, gazæ custos regis, amicus Datami, per scripta ei mittit: In quibus docet, Eum magno fore periculo, si quid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ: Quo facillè fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore discrimine quod quibus rex maximè obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille literis cognitis, quum jam ad exercitum Accen venisset, quod non ignorabat ea verè scripta, desciscere à rege constituit. Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide suâ esset indignum: Nam Androclem Magnetem exercitui præfecit.

*to the Army to * Acc, because he thought Datames was not yet gone, to tell him, that he should not depart from the Army. He, before he came whither he was going, met those on the Road that were carrying Aspis. With which Expedition whilst Datames gained the great Good-Will of the King, he met with no less Envy from the Courtiers, because they saw, that he alone was more valued than they all: Upon which they all agreed together to ruin him. Pandates, the Keeper of the King's Treasure, a Friend to Datames, sends him these Things in Writing: In which he informs him, That he would be in great Danger, if any ill Success happened whilst he commanded in Egypt. For that was the Custom of Kings, to impute all unfortunate Events to Men, but lucky ones to their own Fortune: From whence it easily came about, that they were soon persuaded to the Ruin of those, under whose Conduct Matters were said to be ill managed. He would be in so much the greater Danger, because he had those his bitter Enemies, to whom the King chiefly hearkened. He, having read his Letter, after he was come to the Army at Acc, because he was not ignorant, that those Things were truly written, resolves to revolt from the King. Neither yet did he do any Thing that was unworthy of his Honour: For he placed Androcles the Magnesian*

* A City of Phœnicia.

cit. Ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit, conjunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat: celans quâ voluntate esset in regem, clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit.

He departs with his Men into Cappadocia, and seizes upon Paphlagonia, joining upon it: concealing how he was affected towards the King, he privately makes an Alliance with Ariobarzanes, raises an Army, and delivers the fortified Towns to his Friends to maintain for him.

CAP. VI. Sed hæc propter hyemale tempus minùs prosperè succedebant. Audit Pisidias quasdam copias adversus se parare: filium eò Aridæum cum exercitu mittit; cadit in prælio adolescens: Proficiscitur eò pater non ita cum magnâ manu, celans quantum vulnus accepisset, quò priùs ad hostem pervenire cupiebat, quàm de malè re gestâ fama ad suos perveniret; ne cognitâ filii morte, animi debilitarentur militum. Quò contenderat, pervenit, iisque locis castra ponit, ut neque circumveniri multitudine adversariorum posset, neque impediri, quò minùs ipse ad cunicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, focer ejus, præfectus equitum: Is, desperatis generi rebus, ad hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, sensit si in turbam exisset, ab homine tam necessario se relictum, futurum ut cæteri consilium sequerentur; in vulgus edit, suo jussu Mithrobarzanem pro-

CHAP. VI. *But these Things, by Reason of the Winter Season, went on less successfully. He hears the Pisidians were raising some Troops against him; he sends his Son Arideus thither with an Army; the young Man falls in Battle: The Father marches thither with no great Force, concealing how great a Loss he had received, because he was desirous to come up to the Enemy before the News of this ill-managed Affair should reach his Men; lest, upon knowing the Death of his Son, the Minds of his Soldiers should be discouraged. He came whither he intended, and pitches his Camp in those Places, that he could neither be surrounded by the Number of his Enemies, nor hindered from having his Army always at Liberty to fight. Mithrobarzanes was with him, his Father-in-law, Commander of the Horse. He, despairing of the Condition of his Son-in-law, deserts to the Enemy. When Datamos heard that, he was sensible, if it should get abroad in the Army, that he was forsaken by a Man so near to him, it would come to pass, that the rest would follow his*

profectum pro perfugâ, quò
faciliùs receptus interfice-
ret hostes. Quare relinqui
eum non par esse, sed omnes
confestim sequi; Quod si
animo strenuo fecissent, fu-
turum ut adversarii non
possent resistere, quum &
intra vallum et foris cæde-
rentur. Hâc re probatâ, ex-
ercitum educit, Mithrobar-
zanem persequitur, qui non-
dum ad hostes pervenerat;
Datames signa inferri jubet.
Pisidæ, novâ re commoti, in
opinionem adducuntur, per-
fugas malâ fide, compositò-
que fecissè, ut recepti, essent
majori calamitati: primùm
eos adoriuntur. Illi, quum
quid ageretur, aut quare fi-
eret, ignorarent, coacti sunt
cum eis pugnare, ad quos
transierant, ab hisque stare,
quos reliquerant: Quibus
cùm neutri parcerent, cele-
riter sunt concisi. Reliquos
Pisidas resistentes Datames
invadit; primo impetu pel-
lit, fugientes persequitur, mul-
tos interficit, castra hostium
capit. Tali consilio uno tem-
pore & proditores perculit, &
hostes profligavit; & quod ad
suam perniciem fuerat cogi-
tatum, id ad salutem convertit.
Quo neque acutius ullius im-
peratoris cogitatum, neque ce-
lerius factum usquam legi-
mus,

*his Course. He spreads a Report
amongst the common Soldiers, that
Mithrobarzanes was gone over a
Deserter by his Order, that he
might the more easily, by being
received as such, kill their En-
emies. Wherefore it was not fit
that he should be left, but that
they all ought immediately to fol-
low; which if they did with a
resolute Mind, the Consequence
would be, that their Enemies
would not be able to resist, since
they would be cut off within their
Ramparts, and without. This
Thing being approved of, he draws
out his Army, pursues Mithro-
barzanes, who had not yet got up
to the Enemy. Datames orders
the Standards to advance. The
Pisidians, surprized at this odd
Thing, are brought to a Persua-
sion, that the Deserters acted with
an ill Intention, and by Compact
with their other Friends, that
being received into the Camp,
they might do them the more Mis-
chief; they fall upon them in the
first Place. They, as they knew
not what was doing, nor why it
was done, were forced to fight
with those to whom they were
going over, and to stand by them
whom they had deserted: Which
whilst neither Side spared, they
were quickly cut to pieces. Da-
tames invades the rest of the Pisi-
dians resisting: He repels them at
the first Attack, pursues them
flying, kills many; and takes the
Enemy's Camp. By this Ma-
nagement he at once both ruinea
the Traitors, and defeated his
Enemies; and turned what had
been*

been contrived for his Destruction to his Preservation. Than which we do not read of any Invention of a General more acute, nor any Action more expeditious.

CAP. VII. Ab hoc tamen viro Syſſinas, maximus natu filius, deſciit, adque regem tranſiit, & de deſeſſione patris deſcripſit. Quo nuncio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intelligebat ſibi cum viro forti ac ſtrenuo negotium eſſe, qui, quum cogitaſſet, facere auderet, & prius cogitare, quam conari conſueſſet; Autophradatum in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare poſſet ſalutem, in quo Ciliciæ portæ ſunt ſitæ, Datames præoccupare ſtudiit. Sed tam ſubitò copias contrahere non potuit: A quâ re depulſus, cum eâ manu quam contraxerat, locum delatum talem, ut neque circumſiceretur ab hoſtibus, neque præteriret adverſarius, quin ancepiſſibus locis premeretur: &, ſi dimicare eo vellet, non multum obeſſe multitudo hoſtium ſuæ paucitati poſſet.

CHAP. VII. Yet his eldeſt Son, Syſſinas, revolted from this Man, and went over to the King, and informed him of his Father's Revolt. At which News Artaxerxes being ſhocked, becauſe he underſtood he had to do with a brave and active Man, who, when he had conſidered of a Thing, durſt execute it, and was uſed to conſider, before he attempted any Thing; ſends Autophradates into Cappadocia. That he might not enter the Wood in which the * Cilician Gates are ſituated, Datames endeavoured to ſeize it before him. But he could not ſo ſuddenly draw his Forces together: From which Thing being obliged to recede, with that Army which he got together, he choſe ſuch a Place, that he could neither be ſurrounded by the Enemy, nor could his Adverſary paſs, but he would be diſtreſſed in difficult Places; and, if he had a Mind to fight in it, the Number of the Enemy could not much hurt his Handful of Men.

CAP. VIII. Hæc etſi Autophradates videbat, ſatius tamen ſtatuit congredi, quam cum tantis copiis reſugere,
aut

CHAP. VIII. Although Autophradates was ſenſible of theſe Things, yet he thought it better to fight than to fly with ſo great
an

* A narrow Paſs in Mount Taurus.

aut tam diu uno loco sedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum centum millia, quos illi Cardaces appellant, ejusdemque generis tria funditorum. Præterea Cappadocum octo, Armeniorum decem, Paphlagonum quinque, Phrygum decem, Lydorum quinque, Aspendiorum & Pisidarum, circiter tria, Cilicum duo, Capitanorum totidem ex Græciâ conductorum tria millia; levis armaturæ maximum numerum. Has adversus copias spes omnis consistebat Datami in se, locique naturâ; namque hujus partem non habebat vigesimam militum: Quibus fretus conflixit, adversariorumque multa millia concidit; quum de ipsius exercitu non amplius hominum mille cecidissent. Quam ob causam, postero die tropæum posuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum. Hinc quum castra movisset, inferior copiis, superior omnibus præliis discedebat; quod nunquam manum confereret, nisi adversarios locorum angustiiis clausisset: quod perito regionum,

*an Army, or to continue so long in one Place. He had of Barbarian Horse Twenty thousand, of Foot a Hundred thousand, which they call Cardaces, and Three thousand Slingers of the same Kind, besides Eight thousand Cappadocians, Ten thousand * Armenians, Five thousand Paphlagonians, Ten thousand Phrygians, Five thousand Lydians, about Three thousand † Aspendians and Pisidians, Two thousand Cilicians, as many Capitanians, Three thousand Men hired out of Greece; a vast Number of ‡ light-armed Men. All Datames's Hopes against these Troops consisted in himself, and the Nature of the Place; for he had not the twentieth Part of his Soldiers: Depending upon which he engaged, and cut off many Thousands of his Enemies; whereas not above a thousand Men of his Army fell. For which Reason, the Day after he erected a ** Trophy in the Place where they had fought the Day before. After he removed his Camp from thence, though he was inferior in Forces, he came off superior in all his Battles, because he never engaged, but when he had enclosed his*

R 2 Enemies

* Armenia is a Country bounded by Asia Minor.

† The Aspendians were a People in that Part of Asia Minor called Pamphylia.

‡ Men armed with Bows or Slings only, were called *leviter armati* or *leviter armatura*.

** A Trophy was the Trunk of a Tree or a Post, hung about with Arms. These were common with the Greeks; they scarcely ever got a Victory, but they erected a Trophy.

onum, callidèque cogitanti, sæpe accidebat. Autophradates quum bellum duci majore regis calamitate, quàm adversariorum, videret, ad pacem atque amicitiam hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam ille etià non fidam fore putabat, tamen conditionem accepit, seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum: Autophradates in Phrygiam se recepit.

Enemies within some narrow Place: Which often happened to the Man, being very well acquainted with the Country, and contriving subtilely. When Autophradates found that the War was continued with greater Loss to the King, than his Enemies, he advised him to Peace and Friendship, and that he would return to a good Understanding with the King. Which though he perceived would not be faithfully kept, yet he accepted the Offer, and said that he would send Ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Thus the War, which the King had undertaken against Datames, was ended; Autophradates withdrew himself into Phrygia.

CAP. IX. At rex, quòd implacabile odium in Datamen susceperat, postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidus interficere studuit, quas ille pleasque vitavit. Sicut, quum nunciatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari; qui in amicorum erant numero: de quibus, quòd inimici derulerant, neque credendum, neque negligendum putavit; experiri voluit, ve um falsumne, sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo profectus est, in quo itinere futuras insidias illi dixerant. Sed elegit corpore & staturâ simillimum sui, eique vestitum suum dedit, atque eo loci i.e. quo ipse consueverat, jussit: ipse autem, ornatus vestitu militari, inter corporis custodes iter

CHAP. IX. But the King, because he had taken up an implacable Hatred against Datames, after he found that he could not be mastered in War, endeavoured to take him off by underhand Contrivances, most of which he avoided. As, when it was told him, that some were plotting against him, who were in the Number of his Friends; of whom because their Enemies had given the Information, he thought the Thing was neither entirely to be believed nor slighted; he had a Mind to try whether it was true or false, that had been told him. Wherefore he went that Way in which they told him the Ambush was to be laid for him; but he chose out one that was very like himself in Person and Stature, and gave him his own Attire, and ordered

iter facere cœpit. At insidiatōres, postquam in eum locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu, in eum faciunt impetum, qui suppositus erat. Prædixerat autem his Datames cum quibus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere quod ipsum viderent. Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatōres animadvertit, tela in eos coniecit: hoc idem quum universi fecissent, primum pervenirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, contixi ceciderunt.

CAP. X. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis, Ariobarzani filii, dolo: namque est pollicitus est regi, se eum interfectorum, si rex promitteret, ut quodcunque vellet, liceret impunè facere, fidemque de eâ re dextrâ dedisset. Hanc ut accepit, simulat se suscepisse cum rege inimicitias, copias parat, & absens, amicitiam cum Datame facit: regis provinciam vexat, castella expugnat, magnas prædas capit; quarum partem suis dispergit, partem ad Datamen mittit: Pari modo, complura castella ei tradit. Hæc diu faciendo, persuasit homini, se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse bellum;

ordered him to go in that Part of the Company, in which he used to do: But he himself, being dressed up in a military Habit, began to march amongst the Guards of his Person. But the Plotters, after the Company were got into that Place, being deceived by the Order and the Dress, make an Attack upon him who had been put in Datames's Place. But Datames had beforehand ordered them with whom he marched, to be ready to do what they should see him do. He, as soon as he saw the Plotters coming on in a Body, discharged his Weapons at them; and as all the rest did the same, they fell down slain, before they could come up with him whom they intended to assault.

CHAP. X. Yet this Man, as cunning as he was, at last was trepanned by the Contrivance of Mithridates, the Son of Ariobarzanes; for he promised the King, that he would kill him, if the King would promise him, that he might do with Impunity whatsoever he would, by giving him his right Hand. As soon as he had received this, he pretends that he had engaged in a Quarrel with the King. He raises Troops, and, though absent, makes Alliance with Datames, harasses the King's Province, takes his Castles, gets Abundance of Plunder; Part of which he divided amongst his Men; Part he sends to Datames: In like Manner he delivers him many Castles. By doing this a long Time, he persuaded the Man that

lum; quum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi præberet insidiarum, neque colloquium ejus petivit, neque in conspectum venire studuit. Sic, absens, amicitiam gerebat; ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed odio communi, quod erga regem susceperant, continui viderentur.

CAP. XI. Id quum iussu se confirmasse arbitratus est, certiorē facit Datamen, tempus esse majores exercitus parari, & bellum cum rege suscipi: de quā re, si ei videretur, quò vellet in colloquium veniret. Probatā re, colloquendi tempus sumitur, locusque quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno cui maximam habebat fidem, antē aliquot dies venit, compluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit, eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso autem colloquendi die, utrique locum qui explorarent, atque ipsos scrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipsi sunt congressi. Hic quum aliquandiu in colloquio fuissent, & diversi discessissent, jamque procul Datames abesset, Mithridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem pararet, in eundem locum revertitur, atque ibi, ubi telum erat impositum, resedit, ut si à lassitudine cu-

that he had undertaken an endless War against the King; whilst notwithstanding, that he might not give him any Suspicion of Treachery in the Case, he neither desired a Conference with him, nor endeavoured to come in his Sight. Thus, tho' absent, he maintained a Friendship with him; that they seemed not to be engaged to one another by mutual Kindnesses, but by the common Hatred, which they had both conceived against the King.

CHAP. XI. After he thought he had sufficiently confirmed that, he makes Datames acquainted, that it was Time that greater Armies should be raised, and the War undertaken with the King himself; concerning which Matter, if it seemed to him proper, he might come to a Conference with him where he pleased. The Thing being approved of, a Time for conferring together is pitched upon, and a Place too, where they should meet. Hither Mithridates came with one, in whom he had the greatest Confidence, some Days before, and buries Swords apart in several Places, and marks those Places carefully. Upon the Day of the Conference, each of them send Men to examine the Place, and search themselves, and then they met. After they had been here some Time in Conference, and had parted different Ways, and now Datames was a great Way off, Mithridates before he came to his Men, that he might not create any Suspicion

peret acquiescere: Datamen-
que revocavit, simulans se
quiddam in colloquio esse
oblutum. Interim telum, quod
latebat, protulit; nudatum-
que vaginâ, veste texit; ac
Datami venienti ait, digre-
dientem se animadvertisse lo-
cum quendam, qui erat in
conspectu, ad castra ponenda
esse idoneum. Quem quum
digito monstraret, & ille con-
spiceret, aversum ferro trans-
fixit: & priusquam quisquam
posset succurrere, interiecit.
Ita ille vir, qui multos con-
filio, neminem perfidiâ, ce-
perat, simulatâ captus est ami-
citiâ.

in him, returns into the same
Place, and sat down there where
a Sword had been laid, as if he
had a Mind to rest himself after
his Weariness; and recalled Da-
tames, pretending that he had
forgot something in the Conference.
In the mean Time he took out the
Sword that lay hid; and being
drawn out of the Sheath, covered
it under his Coat; and says to
Datames, as he was coming, that
he had, at parting, observed a
certain Place, which was in View,
to be proper for the pitching of a
Camp; which whilst he was point-
ing to with his Finger, and the
other was looking at, he run him
through, having his Back turned
towards him, with the Sword;
and before any one could succour
him, killed him. Thus that Man,
who had taken many by his good
Conduct, none by Treachery, was
caught himself by a pretended
Friendship.





XV.

EPAMINONDAS,
Polymni filius, Theba-
nus.

CAP. I.

✱✱✱✱ Paminondas, Po-
✱ E ✱ lymni filius, The-
✱ ✱ banus. De hoc
✱✱✱✱ priusquam scriba-
mus, hæc præ-
cipienda videntur lectoribus;
Ne alienos mores ad suos re-
ferant; neve ea, quæ ipsis
leviora sunt, pari modo apud
cæteros fuisse arbitrentur.
Scimus enim muscen nostris
moribus abesse à principis
personâ; saltare etiam in vi-
tiis poni: Quæ omnia apud
Græcos & grata, & laude
digna ducuntur. Quum au-
tem exprimere imaginem
consuetudinis atque vitæ ve-
limus Epaminondæ, nihil
videmur debere prætermit-
tere, quod pertineat ad eam
declarandam. Quare dice-
mus primùm de genere ejus:
deinde quibus disciplinis, &
a quibus sit eruditus: tum
de moribus ingenique facul-
tatibus, & si qua alia dig-
na memoriâ erunt; post-
remo

XV.

EPAMINONDAS, the
Son of Polymnus, the
Theban.

CHAP. I.

✱✱✱✱ Paminondas was the
✱ E ✱ Son of Polymnus, the
✱ ✱ Theban. Before we
✱✱✱✱ write of him, these
Cautions seem proper
to be given to our Readers; That
they would not examine other Peo-
ple's Fashions by those of their
own Country; nor think those
Things which are trivial with
them, to have been in like manner
so with others. For we know,
that according to our Usages, Mu-
sick is far from being suitable to
the Character of a Prince; and
that Dancing is reckoned amongst
Vices: All which, amongst the
Greeks, are reckoned both agree-
able, and worthy of Commenda-
tion. But as we design to draw
the Picture of Epaminondas's Way
and Manner of Life, we seem
obliged to pass by nothing that
may be proper to setting it forth.
Wherefore we will speak first of his
Extraction; then in what Parts of
Literature, and by whom he was
instructed; then of his Manners,
and

stremò de rebus gestis, quæ a plurimis omnium anteposuntur virtutibus.

CAP. II. Natus igitur patre, quo diximus, honesto genere, pauper jam à majoribus relictus: Eruditus autem sic, ut nemo Thebanus magis; nam & citharizare, & cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est à Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloria, quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata sunt nomina: carmina cantare tibiis, ab Olympiodoro; saltare, à Calliphronē. At philosophiæ præceptorem habuit Lyfim Tarentinum Pythagoreum; cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adolescens tristē & severum senem omnibus æqualibus suis in familiaritate anteposuerit; neque prius eum a se demiserit quàm doctrinis tantò antecessit condiscipulos, ut facilè intelligi posset, pari modo superaturum omnes in cæteris artibus. Atque hæc ad nostram consuetudinem sunt levia & potius contemnenda: at in Græciâ utique olim magnæ laudi erant. Postquam ephēbus factus est,

&

and Abilities of Mind, and if there be any other Things, which he remembered: And finally concerning his great Action, which by many are preferred before all Virtues whatsoever.

CHAP. II. He was come of the Father we spoke of, of an honourable Family; left now poor by his Forefathers: But so well educated, that no Theban was better: for he was taught to play upon the Harp, and to sing to the Sound of the Strings by Dionysius, who was in no less Fame amongst the Musicians, than Damon or Lamprus, whose Names are vulgarly celebrated: He was taught to play upon * Flutes by Olympiodorus, and to dance by Calliphron. But he had for his Master in Philosophy Lysis the Tarentine, the Pythagorean; to whom he was so devoted, that, young as he was, he preferred that grave and rigid old Gentleman, before those of the same Age with himself, in his Familiarity. Nor did he part with him from him, before he so much excelled his Fellow Scholars in Learning, that it might be easily perceived that he would in like manner excel them all in other Arts. And these Things with respect to our Usage are trifling, and rather to be despised; but in

Græce

* As the Latin Word is Plural, I have translated it by the Plural, because it was no unusual Thing amongst the Ancients, for one to play upon two at once; which Piece of Art is, I suppose, now entirely lost.

& palæstræ dare operam corporis, non tam magnitudini virium servivit, quàm velocitati: illam enim ad athletarum usum; hanc, ad belli existimabat utilitatem, pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimum currendo & luctando, ad eum finem quoad stans complecti posset, atque contendere. In armis plurimum studii consumebat.

CAP. III. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona accesserant. Erat enim modestus, prudens, gravis; temporibus sapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo; ad veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens, patientisque admirandum in modum; non solum populi, sed etiam amicorum ferens injurias. In primisque commissa celans; quod interdum non minus prodest quàm disertè dicere. Studiosus audiendi; ex hoc enim facillime disci arbitrabatur. Itaque quum in circu-

Greece however, they were formerly a mighty Commendation. After he became a Man, and began to apply to his * Exercise, he did not mind so much the Improvement of his Strength as Swift-ness: For that he thought conduced much to the Use of Wrestlers; but this to the Convenience of War. Wherefore he was exercised very much in Running and Wrestling †, as long as he could standing grapple and contend with his Adversary. He employed much of his Application in the Exercise of Arms.

CHAP. III. To this Strength of Body a great many good Qualities of the Mind were likewise added. For he was modest, prudent, steady, wisely using the Times, skilled in War, brave in Action, and of a great Mind: Such a Lover of Truth, that he would not indeed tell a Lie in Jest. The same Man was moderate, merciful, and patient to a wonderful Degree, not only bearing with the Injuries of the People but his Friends: Especially a Concealer of Secrets, which sometimes does no less Service, than to speak eloquently. Very fond of hearing others discourse; for by this he thought a Man

* The Youth of Greece and Rome used to spend much of their Time in manly Exercises to fit them for the Wars, unacquainted with the Softness of Balls, Masquerades, &c. For this Purpose their Cities were provided with fine stately Buildings, called *Gymnasia* and *Palæstræ*.

† The Latin Text here is very much blundered,

Circulum venisset, in quo aut de republicâ disputaretur, aut de philosophiâ sermo haberetur, nunquam inde prius discessit, quàm ad finem sermo esset deductus. Paupertatem adeò facile perpeffus est, ut de republicâ nihil præter gloriam ceperit. Amicorum in se tuendo caruit facultatibus; fide ad alios sublevandos sæpe sic usus est, ut possis judicari omnia ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam quum aut civium suorum aliquis ab hostibus fuisset captus, aut virgo amici nobilis propter paupertatem collocari non posset; amicorum concilium habebat, & quantum quisque daret, pro facultatibus imperabat: eamque summam quum faceret, priusquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quærebat, ad eos qui conferebant, eique ut ipsi numerarent, faciebat; ut ille ad quem ea res perveniebat, sciret quibus & quantum cuique deberet.

Man might learn in the most easy Manner. Wherefore, when he came into Company, * in which there was either a Dispute about the Government, or any Discourse held upon a Point of Philosophy, he never departed thence, till the Discourse was brought to a Conclusion. He bore his Poverty so easily, that he got nothing by the Government, but Glory. He did not make use of the Estates of his Friends in maintaining himself; he often so used his Credit to relieve his Friends, that it may be judged by that, that he had all Things in common with his Friends: For when either any of his Countrymen were taken by the Enemies, or a marriageable Daughter of a Friend could not be disposed of, by reason of his Poverty, he held a Council of his Friends, and ordered how much every Man should give, according to his Estate: and when he made up the Sum, before he received the Money, he brought the Man, who wanted it to those who contributed, and made them pay it to himself; that he, to whom that Benefit came, might know to whom he was indebted, and how much to every one.

CAP.

S 2

CHAP.

* It was not the Custom formerly, as now, for Men to club and tittle away their Time in Taverns; that was scandalous amongst the Heathens themselves. Their usual Place of Resort for Conversation, in the Day-time, was the Forum, and the public Buildings about it, as Courts and Piazzas; where, as they used to stand in Rings or Circles for the better Convenience of hearing one another, *Circulus* came to be peculiarly used for such a Knot of Company.

CAP. IV. Tentata autem ejus est abstinentia à Diomedonte Cyziceno; namque is, rogatu Artaxerxis, Epaminondam pecuniâ corrumpendum suscepit. Hic magno cum pondere auri Thebas venit, & Micythum, adolescentulum, quique talentis, ad famam perduxit voluntatem, quam tum Epaminondas plurimum dedit. Micythus Epaminondam convocat, & causam adveniens Diomedontis ostendit: At ille, Diomedonte coram, nihil, inquit, opus pecuniâ est: Nam si ea rex vult, quæ Thebanis sunt utilia, gratis facere sum paratus: In autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis; namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo, pro patriæ charitate. Te, qui me incontinentem tentasti, atque similem existimasti, non miror; tibi ignosco; sed crede properè, ne alios corumpas, quam me non potueris. Tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde, aut mihi id confessum facis, ego te quadam magistratui. Hunc Diomedon quum rogaret, ut tuo exiret sinque quæ attulisset, liceret efferre: Atque, inquit, faciam; neque tuâ causâ, sed meâ: ne, si, tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat ad me ceptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem. A quo quum quaesisset, quò se duci vellet, & ille Athe-

nas

CHAP. IV. His Justice was tried by Diomedon of Cyzicus: For he, at the Request of Artaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. He came to Thebes with a vast Quantity of Gold, and brought over Micythus, a young Man, by five Talents, to his Love, whom at that Time Epaminondas loved very much. Micythus went to Epaminondas, and tells him the Occasion of Diomedon's coming: But he, in the Presence of Diomedon, said, There is no Need of Money in the Case: For if the King desires those Things, which are expedient for the Thebans, I am ready to do them for nothing: But if the contrary, he has not Silver and Gold enough; for I would not take the Riches of the whole World for the Love of my Country. I do not wonder at you, who have attempted me otherwise to you, and thought me like yourself: I forgive you; but get you gone quickly, lest you corrupt others, though you have not been able to corrupt me. To you, Micythus, give him his Silver again, or, unless you do it immediately, I will deliver you to the Magistrate. When Diomedon asked him, that he might be suffered to go off easily, and carry away what he had brought with him: That, says he, I shall do; not for your Cause, but my own: lest, if your Intrepidity should be taken from you, any one should say, that what was taken from you, and come to me, which I would not accept of when offered. Of whom when

nas dixisset, præsidium dedit, ut eò tutò perveniret: Neque verò id satis habuit, sed etiam ut inviolatus in navem ascenderet, per Chabriam Atheniensem, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, effecit. Abstinentiæ erit hoc satis testimonium. Plurima quidem proferre possemus, sed modus adhibendus est; quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.

CAP. V. Fuit & disertus, ut nemo Thebanus ei par esset eloquentiâ: neque nimis concinnus in brevitate respondendi, quàm in perpetuâ oratione ornatus. Habuit obsecratorem Meneclidem quendam, indigenam Thebis, adversarium in administrandâ republicâ, satis exercitatum in dicendo; ut Thebanum scilicet: Namque illi genti plûs inest virium, quàm ingeniû. Is, quodd in remilitari florere Epaminondam videbat, hostiam solebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille, Fallis, inquit, verbo cives tuos, quod hos à bello avocas: otii enim nomine servitutem con-

when he had enquired, whether he had a Mind to be conducted, and he said, to Athens, he gave him a Guard, that he might come safely thither: Nor indeed did he reckon that sufficient, but he likewise took Care, that he should go on board a Ship uninjured, by Chabrias the Athenian, of whom we have made mention above. This will be a sufficient Testimony of his Justice. We could indeed produce a great many, but Moderation is to be used, because we have designed to comprise, in this single Volume, the Lives of several excellent Men, whose Lives several Writers before us have given an Account of separately in many Thousands of Lines.

CHAP. V. He was likewise eloquent, that no Theban was equal to him for Elegance, and no less austere in the Shortings of his Replies, than florid in a continued Harangue. He had one Menocles there of Thebes as a Minister, and Enemy to him in managing the Government, sufficiently exercised in speaking, for a Theban; that is: For that Nation has more of bodily Strength than Wit. He, because he saw Epaminondas make a figure in military Affairs, used to advise the Thebans to prefer Peace before War, that the Service of that General might not be wanted. Upon which he says to him, You seduce your Countrymen with that Word, in dissuading them from War; for you recom-

concilias; nam paratur pax bello. Itaque qui eâ diutînâ volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare, si principes Græciâ esse vultis, castris est vobis utendum, non palæstrâ. Idem ille Meneclides quum huic objiceret quod liberos non haberet, neque uxorem duxisset; maximeque insolentiam, quod sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur consecutus: At ille, Desine, inquit, Meneclide, de uxore mihi exprobare: nam nullius in istâ re minus uti consilio volo. (Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulterii.) Quod autem me Agamemnonem æmulari putas, falleris; namque ille, cum universâ Græciâ, vix decem annis unam cepit urbem: Ego, contra, ex unâ u. be nostrâ, dieque uno, totam Græciam, Lacedæmoniiis fugatis, libertavi.

CAP. VI. Idem quum in conventum venisset Arcadum, petens, ut societatem cum Thebanis & Argivis facerent;

*mond Slavery to them under the Name of Peace; for Peace is procured by War. Wherefore, they that will enjoy it long, ought to be exercised in War. Wherefore, if you have a Mind to be the Leaders of Greece, you must use the Camp, and not the Place of Exercise. What the same Meneclides objected to him, * that he had no Children, nor had married a Wife; and especially objected against him his Insolence, because he seemed to himself to have acquired the Glory of Agamemnon in War: But, says he, Give over, Meneclides, to upbraid me about a Wife: For I could take no Body's Advice in that Matter less than your's. (For Meneclides went under the Suspicion of making too free with other Men's Wives) And whereas you think I rival Agamemnon, you are mistaken; for he with all Greece, with Difficulty, took one City in Ten Years: I, on the other Hand, from this one City of ours, and in one Day, delivered all Greece, by routing the Lacedæmonians.*

CHAP. VI. *When the same Person was come into the Assembly of the Arcadians, desiring that they would make an Alliance with the Thebans*

* As the Strength of any Government consists much in the Numbers of the People, Matrimony was so encouraged amongst the Greeks and Romans, that to live a single Life was almost criminal amongst them: Nay, was indeed so at last among the Romans, and punished pretty severely; and, in my Opinion, is not to be excused, unless where a Man, in a single State, may be more servicable to his Country, than if he were to marry.

cerent; contràque, Callistratus Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentià omnes eo præstabat tempore, postulare, ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum, & in oratione suâ multa invecutus esset in Thebanos & Argivos, in eisque hoc posuisset, Animadvertere debere Arcadas, quales utraque civitas cives procicasset, ex quibus de cæteris posset judicare: Argivos enim fuisse Orestem & Alcæonem, matricidas: Thebis Cædipum natum, qui cum patrem suum interfecisset, ex matre liberos procreasset: Hic in respondendo Epaminondas, quum de cæteris perorasset, postquam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverteret, innocentes illos natos, domi scelere admisso, quum patriâ essent pulsi, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus. Sed maximè ejus eloquentia eluxit Spartæ, legati ante pugnam Leuctricam; quo quum omnium sociorum convenissent legati, coram frequentissimo legationum conventu, sic Lacedæmoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minùs illâ oratione opes eorum concussit, quàm Leuctricâ pugnâ. Tum enim perfecit, quod post apparuit ut auxilio

*Thebans and the Argives; and on the other hand Callistratus, Ambassador of the Athenians, who excelled all in Eloquence at that Time, desired that they would rather follow the Alliance of the Athenians, and inveighed much in his Speech against the Thebans and the Argives. and put this in amongst other Things, That the Arcadians ought to observe what Sort of Citizens each City had produced, by which they might judge of the rest; for Orestes and Alcæon, Murderers of their Mothers, were Argives, and OEdipus was born at Thebes; who, after he had killed his Father, had Children by his Mother: Here Epaminondas, in his Answer, after he had spoken to other Points, when he was come to those two Reproaches, said, That he admired the Folly of the Athenian Rhetorician, who did not consider that they were born innocent, and having committed their Wickedness at Home, after they were banished their Country were entertained by the Athenians. But his Eloquence shined the most at Sparta, when he was Ambassador before the Battle of * Leuctra; where when the Ambassadors of all the Allies had met, before a full Assembly of the Embassies, he did so make appear the Tyranny of the Lacedæmonians, that he shook their Power no less by that Speech, than by the Battle of Leuctra.*

* A City of Laconia in Peloponnesus.

auxilio sociorum Lacedæmonii privarentur.

CAP. VII. Fuisse autem patientem, suorumque injurias ferentem civem, quod se patriæ irasci necesse esset duceret, hæc sunt testimonia. Quum eum propter invidiam cives præficere exercitui nolissent, duxque esset electus belli imperitus, cujus errore eo esset deducta illa res militum, ut omnes de salute pertimerent, quod locum angustissimum, ab hominibus obsidebatur: desiderari coepit est Epaminondæ diligentia; erat enim ibi privatus numero militum: A quo quum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliæ, & exercitum, obsidione liberatum, domum reduxit incolumem. Neque verò hoc semel fecit, sed apius. Maxime autem fuit illustre, quum in Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus Lacedæmonios, haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. Hic, quum criminibus adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent, ob eamque rem imperium his esset abrogatum, atque in eorum locum alii prætores successissent; Epaminondas plebiscito non paruit; idemque ut facerent, persuasit collegis, & bellum quod

tra. For then he effected what afterwards appeared, that the Lacedæmonians were deprived of the Assistance of their Allies.

CAP. VII. But that he was patient, and bore with the Injuries of his Countrymen, because he thought it a Crime to be angry with his Country, there are these Proofs. When his Countrymen, out of ill Nature to him, would not place him at the Head of their Army, and a General was chosen to it was mistaken in War, by whose Mistake the Army was brought to that Place, that all were much concerned about their Safety, because that being enclosed within a narrow Place, they were besieged by the Enemy; the Diligence of Epaminondas began to be missed; for he was there as a private Man amongst the Soldiers: From whom when they desired Help, he had no Regard to the Affront put upon him, and carried the Army, delivered out of this Strait, safely Home. Nor indeed did he do that once only, but often. But that was the most remarkable, when he led an Army into Peloponnesus against the Lacedæmonians, and had two joined in Commission with him, one of which was Pelopidas, a gallant and an active Man. Here, when they were all come under the Odium of their Countrymen, by the Accusations of their Enemies, and for that Reason their Commission was taken from them, and other Commanders succeeded

quod susceperat, gessit. Namque animadvertebat, ubi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter prætorum imprudentiam incertamque belli perituum. Lex erat Thebis, quæ morte mulstabat, si quis imperium diutius retinisset, quam lege præfinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas quum reipublicæ conservandæ causâ latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre noluit; & quatuor mensibus diutius, quam populus jusserat, gessit imperium.

*in their Place: Epaminondas did not obey the Order of the People, and persuaded his Colleagues to do the same, and carried on the War which he had undertaken. For he was sensible, * unless he did so, that the whole Army would be lost, by Reason of the Unskiffulness of the Generals, and their Ignorance in War. There was a Law at Thebes, which punished with Death, if any one kept his Commission longer than was prescribed by Law. As Epaminondas saw that this was made upon Account of preserving the State, he would not turn it to the Ruin of his Country; and kept his Command four Months longer than the People had ordered.*

CAP. VIII. Postquam domum reditum est, collegæ ejus hoc crimine accusabantur: quibus ille permisit, ut omnem causam in se transferrent, suâque operâ factum contenderent, ut legi non obedirent. Quâ defensione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam respondurum putabat; quòd quid diceret non haberet. At ille in judicium venit, nihil eorum negavit quæ adversarii crimini dabant, omniaque quæ collegæ dicebant confessus est; neque recusavit, quo minus legis poenam

CAP. VIII. *After they were returned Home, his Fellow Commissioners were impeached for this Crime, to whom he gave Leave to lay all the Blame upon him, and stand to it that it was occasioned by his Means, that they did not obey the Law. By which Defence, they being delivered from Danger, no-body thought Epaminondas would make any Answer for himself; because he could not have any thing to say. But he came to his Trial, denied none of those Things which his Enemies laid to his Charge, and confessed all Things that his Colleagues had said; nor did he refuse to undergo*
T the

* It is in the Latin, *sic*, without any Sense. It seems to me undeniable it should be *sic*.

pœnam subiret; sed unum ab iis petivit, ut in periculo suo conscriberent; Epaminondas à Thebanis morte multatus est, quod eos coëgit apud Leuctra superare Lacedæmonios; quos ante se imperatorem, nemo Bœotiorum ausus fuit aspicere in acie: quodque uno prælio non solum Thebas ab interritu retraxit, sed etiam universam Græciam in libertatem vindicavit; eoque res utriusque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedæmonii satis haberent si salvi esse possent: neque prius bellum desistit, quam, Messenâ constitutâ, urbem eorum obsidione clausit. Hæc quum dixisset, risus omnium cum hilaritate coortus est; neque quisquam iudex ausus est ferre suffragium.

*the Punishment of the Law: But one Thing he requested of them that they would write upon his * Tomb; Epaminondas was put to Death by the Thebans, because he forced them to beat the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra; whom, before he was General, none of the Bœotians durst look at in the Field; and because he not only delivered Thebes from Destruction by one Battle, but likewise restored all Greece to their Liberty, and brought the Affairs of both People to that Pass, that the Thebans attacked Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians were content, if they could be secure; nor did he cease to make War upon them, before, the State of † Messenia being settled, he penned up their City by a close Siege. After he had said this, there burst out a Laughter of all present, with a deal of Merriment; nor durst any Judge pass Sentence upon him.*

CAP. IX. Sic à iudicio capitis maximâ discessit gloria. Hic, extremo tempore, imperator apud Matineam, quum acie instructâ audaciùs instaret hostibus, cognitus à Lacedæmoniis, quod in ejus unius perniciem patriæ sitam putabant

CHAP. IX. Thus he came off from this Trial for Life with the greatest Glory. He at the latter End of his Time, being General at † Mantinea, when he pressed very boldly upon the Enemies with his Army in Battalia, being known by the Lacedæmonians, because they

* Though some pretend to defend the vulgar Reading here, *periculo*; yet I cannot forbear thinking it to be a Mistake for *sepulchro*, or some other Word of like Import.

† A Country of Peloponnesus, bordering upon Laconia to the Westward.

‡ A City of Arcadia in Peloponnesus.

putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt neque prius abscesserunt quàm magnâ cæde factâ, multisque occisis, fortissimè ipsum Epaminondam pugnântem, sparo eminus percussum, concidere viderunt. Hujus casu aliquantùm retardati sunt Bæotii; neque tamen prius pugnam excesserunt, quam repugnantes profligârunt. At Epaminondas, quum animadverteret mortiferum se vulnus accepisse, simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim amitturum; usque eò retinuit, quoad renunciatum est, Vicisse Bæotios. Id postquam audivit, satis, inquit, vixi; invictus enim morior. Tum ferro extracto, confestim exanimatus est.

they thought the Saving of their Country depended upon the Destruction of him alone, they all made an Attack upon him only: nor did they depart, till having made a great Slaughter, and killed many, they saw Epaminondas himself, fighting very valiantly, fall wounded with a Lance at a Distance. The Boetians were a little retarded by his Fall; neither yet did they quit the Fight, before they routed those that opposed them. But Epaminondas, after he perceived he had received a mortal Wound, and likewise, that if he drew out the Head of the Spear, which remained in his Body, he should immediately lose his Life; he kept it in so long, till it was told him, That the Boetians had conquered. After he heard that, I have lived, says he, long enough; for I die unconquered. Then the Iron Head being drawn out, he immediately died.

CAP. X. Hic uxorem nunquam duxit; in quo quum reprehenderetur à Pelopidâ, qui filium habebat infamem; malèque eum in eo patriæ consulere diceret, quòd liberos non relinqueret: Vide, inquit, ne tu pejus consulas, qui talem ex te natum relicturus sis. Neque vero stirps mihi potest deesse; namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quæ non modò mihi superstes, sed etiam immortalis sit, necesse est. Quo tempore, duce Pelopidâ, exules Thebas occupaverunt, & presidium

CHAP. X. *He never married a Wife; for which, when he was blamed by Pelopidas, who had an infamous Son; and said, that he did but ill consult the Interest of his Country, in that he left no Children; Consider, says he, whether you do not worse consult the Interest of your Country, who are likely to leave such a Son. But neither can I want Issue; for I leave a Daughter, the Battle of Leuctra, which must needs not only survive me, but be immortal. At the Time when the banished Thebans seized Thebes, with Pelopidas their Commander, and*

dium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce expulerunt; Epaminondas, quàm diu facta est cædes civium, domi se retinuit; quòd neque malos defendere volebat, neque impugnare, ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret: Namque omnem civilem victoriam funestam putabat. Idemque, postquam apud Cadmeam pugnari cum Lacedæmoniis cœpit, in primis stetit. Hujus de virtutibus vitæque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adjunxero, quod nemo erat inficias: Thebas, & ante Epaminondam natum, & post ejusdem interritum, perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio: contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuisse totius Græciæ. Ex quo intelligi potest, unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

drove the Garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the Citadel; Epaminondas, so long as the Slaughter was made amongst the Citizens, kept himself at home, because he neither had a Mind to defend the bad Party, nor attack them, that he might not imbrue his Hands in the Blood of his Countrymen: For he thought all Victory gained over Fellow Citizens very dismal. And the same Man, after they began to engage at Cadmea with the Lacedæmonians, stood amongst the foremost. Enough will be said of his Virtues and Life, if I add this one Thing, which nobody can deny: That Thebes, both before Epaminondas was born, and after his Death, was always subject to a foreign Power; on the other Hand so long as he governed the Commonwealth, it was the Head of all Greece. From whence it may be understood that one Man alone was more worth than all the whole City besides.





XVI.

PELOPIDAS, *Thebanus.*

CAP. I.

Elopidas Thebanus, magis historicis, quam vulgo notus. Cujus de virtutibus dubito quemadmodum exponam: quòd vereor, si res explicare incipiam, non vitam ejus enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere; si tantummodo summas attigero, ne rudibus literarum Græcarum minùs lucidè appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram, quantum poterò, & medebor cum satietati, tum ignorantie, lectorum. Phœbidas Lacedæmonius quum exercitum Olynthum duceret, iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quæ Cadmea nominatur, occupavit, impulsu per paucorum Thebanorum; qui adversariæ factioni quo faciliùs resisterent, Laconum rebus studebant: Idque suo privato

XVI.

PELOPIDAS, *the Theban.*

CHAP. I.

Elopidas the Theban is better known to * Historians, than to the Vulgar. Concerning whose Excellencies I am in Doubt how I shall write; because I am afraid, if I should begin to unravel his Actions, I should seem not to recount his Life, but to write a History; if I only touch upon the most considerable, I fear, lest it should less plainly appear to those that are ignorant of the Greek Tongue how great a Man he was. Wherefore I will provide against both Things, as much as I can, and prevent both the Glut and Ignorance of my Readers. When Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian was leading an Army to Olynthus, and made his March by Thebes, he seized the Citadel of the Town, which is called Cadmea, at the Instigation of a few Thebans, who, that they might the more easily resist the opposite Factions, favoured

* The common Reading is *Historiis*; but I am of the learned Schottus's Opinion, that it should be *Historicis*, and accordingly I have translated it.

privato, non publico fecit confilio. Quo facto, eum Lacedæmonii ab exercitu removerunt, pecuniæque mulctarunt: neque eò magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quòd, susceptis inimiciis fatiùs ducebant eos obsideri, quam liberari. Nam post Peloponnesium bellum Athenasque devictas, cum Thebanis sibi rem esse existimabant; & eos esse solos, qui adversus resistere auderent. Hæc mente, amicis suis summas potestates dederant; alterius factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exilium ejecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorisi sumus, pulsus, patriâ carebat.

CAP. II. Hi omnes ferè Athenas se contulerant, non quò sequerentur otium, sed ut, quemcunque ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patrium recuperare niterentur. Itaque, quum tempus est visum rei gerendæ, communiter cum his, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt, ad inimicos opprimendos, civitatemque liberandam, cum, quo maximi magistratus simul consueverunt epulari. Magnæ sæpe

res

favoured the Interest of the Lacedæmonians: And that he did upon his own private, and not on any publick Resolution of the Spartans. Upon which Fact the Lacedæmonians removed him from his Post in the Army, and fined him a Sum of Money; nor did they for all that restore the Citadel to the Thebans, because, a Quarrel being now begun, they thought it better that they should be under a Check, than at Liberty: For after the Peloponnesian War, and the Conquest of Athens, they supposed they must have to do with the Thebans; and that they were the only People who durst make Opposition against them. With these Sentiments, they had delivered the highest Post to their Friends, the leading Men of the other Faction they had partly killed, and partly turned out into Banishment: Amongst whom this Pelopidas, of whom we have undertaken to write, was banished his Country.

CHAP. II. Almost all these had betaken themselves to Athens, not that they might lead an idle Life, but that whatsoever Place in the Neighbourhood Fortune offered them, they might endeavour from thence to recover their Country. Wherefore, when it now seemed Time to enter upon the Business, they pitched upon a Day jointly with those who at Thebes had the same Sentiments, to fall upon their Enemies, and free the City, the very Day upon which the chief Magistrates were

used

res non ita magnis copiis sunt gestæ: sed profectò nunquam ab tam tenui initio tantæ opes sunt profligatæ. Nam duodecim adolescentuli coiêrunt, ex his qui exilio erant mulctati, quum omnino non essent ampliùs centum, qui tanto se offerrent periculo; quâ paucitate percussa est Lacedæmoniorum potentia. Hi enim non magis adversariorum factioni, quàm Spartanis, eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Græciæ: quorum imperiosa majestas, neque ita multò post, Leuctricâ pugnâ, ab hoc initio percussa, cecidit. Illi igitur doudecim, quorum erat dux Pelopidas, quum Athenis interdiu exissent, ut vesperscente cælo Thebas possent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exiêrunt, retia ferentes vestitu agresti, quò minore suspitione facerent iter. Qui quum tempore ipso, quo studuerant, provenissent, domum Charonis devenerunt, à quo & tempus & dies erat datus.

*used to feast together. Great Things have been oftentimes performed by no great Forces; but indeed never so great a Power was defeated from so small a Beginning. For twelve young Men, of those who had been punished with Banishment, agreed, when they were not above an Hundred that offered themselves to so great a Danger; with which small Number the Power of the Lacedæmonians was overthrown. For these made Wars, not more upon the Faction of their Adversaries than upon the Spartans at that Time, who were the Lords of all Greece: Whose imperious Grandeur, shocked from this Beginning, fell not long after in the Battle of Leuctra. Wherefore those Twelve, whose Leader was Pelopidas, having gone out of Athens in the Day-Time, that they might reach Thebes when the Heavens grew dark, went out with Hounds, carrying Nets, in a Country Dress, that they might make their Journey with the less Suspicion. Who, having come thither at the Time which they had intended, went to Charon's House, by whom the * Day had been fixed.*

CAP. III. Hoc loco libet interponere, etsi sejunctum à re proposita est, Nimia fiducia quantæ calamitati soleat esse: Nam magistratuum

CHAP. III. In this Place I have a Fancy to insert a Remark, altho' it be foreign to our Subject: How great a Mischief an excessive Assurance uses to be: For it immediately

* The Text seems to be faulty here; there can, I think, be no Occasion for *Tempus* and *Dies* both.

num Thebanorum statim ad aures pervenit, Exules in urbem devenisse. Id illi, vino epulisque dediti, usque eò despexerunt, ut ne quærere quidem de tantâ se laborarint. Accessit, etiam, quòd magis aperiret eorum dementiam: Allata est enim epistola Athenis, ab Archia Hierophante, Archia, qui tum maximum magistratum Thebis obtinebat; in quâ omnia de protectione exulum prescripta erant: Quæ quum jam accubanti in convivio esset data, sicut erat signata, in pulvinum subiciens; In crastinum, inquit, differo res severas. At illi omnes, quum jam nox processisset vinolenti, ab exilibus, duce Pelopidâ, sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non solum qui in urbem erant, sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt; præsidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce pepulerunt; patriam obsidione liberaverunt: Auctores Cadmeæ occupandæ partim occiderunt, partim in exilio ejecerunt.

CAP.

*immediately came to the Ears of the Theban Magistrates, that some of the Exiles were come to Town: That, they, intent upon their Wine and good Cheer, so far despised, that they did not truly trouble themselves to inquire about so important a Matter. There was another Thing too, which discovered their Madness still the more. For a Letter was brought from Athens, from Archias an * Hierophantes, to Archias, who then had the chief Post of Authority at Thebes; in which all Things had been written concerning the Departure of the Exiles from thence: Which being given to him as † he sat at the Feast, putting it as it was, sealed under his Pillow; I put off, says he, all serious Affairs till Tomorrow: But they all, when now the Night was pretty far advanced, being drunk, were slain by the Exiles, under their Leader Pelopidas. Which Things being done, and the common People invited to Arms and Liberty, not only those who were in the Town, but likewise others from all Parts out of the Country, flocked in to them; drove the Garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the Citadel; and delivered their Country from that Baffle. They partly put*

* *Hierophantes* is explained by some to be a Keeper of the holy Trinkets belonging to the Gods.

† The Latin Word properly signifies *lying at, or by*, which was the Posture used by the Ancients at Tables, about which they commonly had three Beds placed, on the Sides of which they lay, with their Backs supported by Pillows.

put to Death the Advisers of seizing the Cadmeæ, and partly drove them out into Banishment.

CAP. IV. Hoc tam turbido tempore (sicut suprà docuimus) Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit: Itaque hæc liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidæ; cæteræ ferè omnes communes cum Epaminondâ. Namque in Leuctricâ pugnâ, imperatore Epaminondâ, hic fuit dux delectæ manûs, quæ prima phalangem prostravit Lacedæmonum. Omnibus præterea periculis affuit: sicut Spartam quum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu: quodque Messenæ celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique hæc fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda, ita ut proxima esset Epaminondæ.

CAP. V. Conflictatus autem est cum adversâ fortunâ; nam & initio (sicut ostendimus) exul patriâ caruit; &, quum Thessaliâ in potestatem Thebanorum cupebat redigere, legationisque jure factis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuevit, à tyranno Alexandro Pheræo, simul cum Iimeniâ, comprehensus,

CHAP. IV. During this turbulent Time (as we have told you before) Epaminondas, so long as they were engaged with their Fellow Citizens, was quiet at Home; wherefore the Glory of delivering Thebes is proper to Pelopidas: Almost all his other glorious Actions were common to him with Epaminondas. For in the Battle of Leuctra, where Epaminondas was General, he was the Commander of a select Body of Troops, which first of all broke the Phalanx of the Lacedæmonians. Besides, he was present with him in all his Dangers; as, when he attacked Sparta, he commanded one Wing; and that Messenæ might be more expeditiously restored, he went Ambassador amongst the Persians. Finally this was another considerable Actor at Thebes, but yet a second, so that he was next to Epaminondas.

CHAP. V. Yet he met with adverse Fortune; for he was early banished (as we have shewn;) and being desirous to reduce Thessaly under the Power of the Thebans, and, thinking himself sufficiently secured by the Right of an Embassy, which used to be sacred among all Nations, he was seized, together with Iimeniâ, by Alexander, the Tyrant of * Pheræ, and thrown into Chains. Epaminondas

* A City in that Part of Thessaly called Ielafgiotis.

hensus, in vincula coniectus est. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello persequens Alexandrum. Post id factum, nunquam is animo placari potuit in eum, à quo erat violatus: Itaque persuasit Thebanis, ut subsidio Theſſaliæ proficiſcerentur, tyrannosque ejus expellerent. Cujus belli quum ei summa eſſet data, eoque cum exercitu profectus eſſet, non dubitavit, simul ac conſpexit hostem, conſligere. In quo prælio, Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incensus irâ, equum in eum concitavit, proculque digreſſus à ſuis, conſpectu telorum conſoſſus cecidit. Atque hoc ſecundâ victoriâ accidit: nam jam inelinatæ erant tyrannorum copiæ. Quo facto, omnes Theſſaliæ civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis, & ſtatuſis æneis, liberosque ejus multo agro donaverunt.

nondas recovered him, falling upon Alexander in War. After that Fact, he could never be reconciled in his Mind to him by whom he had been injured: Wherefore he persuaded the Thebans to go to the Relief of Theſſaly, and drive out the Tyrants thereof. When the chief Command in that War had been given to him, and he was come thither with his Army, he did not delay to engage, as ſoon as he ſaw the Enemy. In which Battle, when he ſpied Alexander, being fired with Rage, he spurred on his Horse against him, and being gone a good Way from his Men, he fell down killed with the Diſcharge of Weapons at him: And this happened when Victory was favourable to him: For the Tyrants Troops were now ready to flee. After which, all the Cities of Theſſaly honoured the ſlain Pelopidas with golden Crowns, and brazen Statues, and preſented his Children with a great deal of Land.





XVII.


XVII.

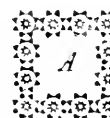
AGESILAUS,
Lacedæmonius.

AGESILAUS, the
Lacedæmonian.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.


 Gesilaus Lacedæmonius, cum à cæteris scriptoribus, tum eximie à Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus est; eo enim usus est familiarissimè. Hic primùm de regno cum Leotychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos est enim à majoribus Lacedæmoniis traditus, ut duos haberent semper reges, nomine magis quàm imperio ex duabus familiis Proclis & Euristhenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis, Spartæ reges fuerunt. Harum ex alterâ in alterius familiæ locum fieri non licebat: itaque uterque suum retinebat ordinem. Primùm, ratio habebatur, qui maximus natu esset ex liberis ejus, qui regnans decessisset: Sin is virilem sexum non reliquisset, tunc eligebatur qui proximus esset propinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Agefilai: filium reliquerat Leotychidem, quem ille vivens non agnorat; eundem, moriens, suum esse dixerat.


 Gesilaus the Lacedæmonian has been commended as well by other Writers, as by Xenophon the Socratick Philosopher extraordinarily; for he was very intimate with him. He first of all had a Dispute with Leotychides, his Brother's Son, for the Kingdom. For it is a Custom delivered to the Lacedæmonians by their Forefathers, to have always two Kings, in Name rather than Authority, of the two Families of Procles and Eurysthenes, who, first of all the Progeny of Hercules, were Kings of Sparta. It was not lawful for a King to be made out of one of these, in the room of the other Family: Therefore each kept its Rank. First, Regard was had to him that was the eldest of the Sons of him who died King: But if he left no Male Issue, then he was chosen that was the next akin. King Agis, the Brother of Agefilaus, was dead: He had left a Son, Leotychides by Name, whom he, when alive, had not owned for his; but when dying, he had said that he was his. He con-

erat. Is de honore regni cum Agefilao suo patriuo contendit; neque id quod petivit consecutus est; nam Lyfandro suffragante, homine, ut ostendimus supra, factioso, & his temporibus potente, Agefilaus antelatus est.

tended for the Honour of the Kingdom with his Uncle Agefilaus; nor did he get what he sought for; for Agefilaus was preferred before him, Lyfander making Interest for him; a Man (as we have shewn above) of considerable Sway, and powerful at that Time.

CAP. II. Hic simul atque imperii potitus est, persuasit Lacedæmoniis ut exercitum emitterent in Asiam, bellumque regi facerent, docens, satius esse in Asia, quam in Europâ dimicare: namque fama exierat Artaxerxem comparare classem, pedestrielque exercitus, quos in Græciam mitteret. Datâ potestate, tantâ celeritate usus est, ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit, quam regii satrapæ eum scirent profectum; quo factum est, ut omnes imparatos imprudentesque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui summum imperium tum inter præfectos habebat regios, inducias à Lacone petivit, simulans se dare operam, ut Lacedæmoniis cum rege conveniret; se autem verâ, ad copias comparandas; easque impetravit trimestres. Juravit autem uterque, se sine dolo inducias conservatorum: In quâ pactione, summâ fide mansit Agefilaus. Contra ea, Tissaphernes nihil aliud quam bellum comparavit. Id etsi sentiebat Laco, tamen jusjurandum servabat,

CHAP. II. He, as soon as he got the Kingdom, persuaded the Lacedæmonians, that they should send an Army into Asia, and make War upon the King, telling them that it was better to fight in Asia than Europe; for a Rumour was got Abroad, that Artaxerxes was fitting out a Fleet, and raising Land Forces to send into Greece. Leave being granted him, he made Use of so much Expedition, that he came into Asia with his Troops, before the King's Viceroy knew that he was set forward; from whence it was that he found them all unprovided, and unaware of him. As soon as Tissaphernes understood it, who had then the greatest Power amongst the King's Governors, he desired a Truce of the Lacedæmonian, pretending, that he would do his Endeavour that the Lacedæmonians should agree with the King; but indeed to raise Troops; and he obtained it for three Months. But each of them swore, that he would observe the Truce without Fraud: In which Agreement, Agefilaus continued with the greatest Punctualness. On the other Hand, Tissaphernes did nothing else but levy war, Altho'

vabat, multumque in eo consequi se dicebat, quod Tissaphernes perjurio suo & homines suis rebus abalienaret, & deos sibi iratos redderet: se autem, servatâ religione, confirmare exercitum, quum animadverteret, deorum numen facere secum, hominesque sibi conciliari amiciores, quod his studere consueverent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

CAP. III. Postquam induciarum præterit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Cariâ, & ea regio his temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima, eo potissimum hostes impetum facturos, omnes suas copias eo contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit, eamque prius depopulatus est, quam Tissaphernes usquam se moveret. Magna præda militibus locupletatis, Ephesum hyematum exercitum reduxit; atque ibi, officinis armorum institutis, magnâ industriâ bellum apparavit. Et quò studiosius armarentur, insignibusque ornarentur, præmia proposuit, quibus donarentur, quorum egregia in eâ re fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus, ut qui cæteris præstitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus. His igitur rebus effecit, ut & omnium & exercitissimum haberet exercitum.

Huic

Altho the Lacedæmonian perceived that, yet he kept his Oath, and said that he got much by it, because Tissaphernes both alienated Men from his Interest, and made the Gods angry with him by his Perjury: but that he, by keeping his Oath, encouraged his Army, since they observed, that the Power of the Gods was for them; and Men were made more Friends to them, because they were accustomed to favour those whom they observed to keep their Faith.

CHAP. III. *After the Time of the Truce was expired, the Barbarian not doubting, because he had a great many Seats in Caria, and that Country was thought to be far the richest at that Time; that the Enemies would make their Inroads there chiefly, had drawn all his Troops thither. But Agesilaus turns into Phrygia, and wasted that, before Tissaphernes could stir any whither. Having enriched his Soldiers with abundance of Plunder, he drew back his Army to Ephesus to winter; and there having set up Forges for Arms, he prepared for War with great Industry. And that his Troops might be the more carefully armed, and more finely adorned, he proposed Rewards, with which they should be presented whose Industry was extraordinary in that Matter. He did the same in all Sorts of Exercises, that them, who excelled the rest, he honoured with great Presents. By these means therefore he effected that he had his Army both*

Huic quum tempus esset visum copias extrahere ex hybernaculis, vidit si, quo esset iter facturus, palam pronunciasset, hostes non credituros, aliasque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitatos, aliud esse factum ac pronunciasset; Itaque, quum ille Sardeis se iturum dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam defendendam putavit. In quo quum eum opinio fefelleret, victumque se vidisset consilio, serò suis prælidio profectus est. Nam, quum illò venisset, jam Agesilaus, multis locis expugnatis, magnâ erat prædâ potitus. Laco autem, quum videret hostes equitatu superare, nunquam in campo sui fecit potestatem, & his locis manu conferuit, quibus plùs pedestres copiae valerent. Populit ergo, quotiescunque congressus est, multo majores adversariorum copias; & sic in Asiâ versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

both very well furnished with all Things, and very well exercised. As soon as it appeared to him Time to draw his Troops out of their Winter-Quarters, he saw, that if he declared openly whither he was going to march, the Enemies would not believe it, and would take Care of other Parts, and would not doubt that he would do quite another Thing than what he gave out: Wherefore, when he had declared, That he would march for Sardeis, Tissaphernes thought that the same Country of Caria ought to be defended by him. In which Matter when his Opinion had deceived him, and he saw himself outwitted, he came too late for the Protection of his Subjects. For when he was come thither, Agesilaus, having already taken many Places, had got Abundance of Plunder. But the Lacedæmonian, seeing the Enemy exceeded him in Horse, never gave them an Opportunity of fighting him in the Plain, and engaged in those Places, in which Foot would be of most Service. Wherefore he routed a much bigger Army of the Enemy, as oft as he fought them; and behaved so in Asia, that he was reckoned the Conqueror in all People's Opinion.

CAP. IV. Hic quum animo meditaretur proficisci in Persas, & ipsum regem adoriri; nuncius ei domo venit ephorum jussu, bellum Athenienses & Bæotios indixisse Lacedæmoniis: quare venire non dubitaret. In hoc, non
minùs

CHAP. IV. *Whilst he was proposing in his own Mind to march into the Country of the Persians, and attack the King himself; a Messenger came to him from Home, by the Order of the Ephori, to tell him, that the Athenians and the Beotians had proclaimed*

minùs ejus pietatis suspicienda est, quam virtus bellica: qui quum victori præesset exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Persarum potiundi; tantà modestià dicto audiens fuit jussis absentium magistratuum, ut si privatus in comitio esset Spartaë. Cujus exemplum utinam imperatores nostri sequi voluissent! Sed illuc redeamus. Agesilaus opulentissimo regno præposuit bonam existimationem, multòque gloriosius duxit, si institutis patriæ paruisset, quàm si bello superasset Asiam. Hâc igitur mente Hellepontum copias trajecit, tantâque usus est celeritate, ut quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus. Quum jam haud longè abesset à Peloponneso, obistere ei conati sunt Athenienses & Bæotii, cæterique eorum socii apud Coroneam, quos omnes gravi prælio vicit. Hujus victoriæ vel maxima fuit laus, quòd quum plerique ex fugâ se in templum Minervæ coniecissent, quærereturque ab eo, Quid his fieri vellet? erli aliquot vulnera acceperat eo prælio, & iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adversus

*proclaimed War against the Lacedæmonians; for which Reason he should not delay to come Home. In this, his Regard to his Country is no less to be admired, than his warlike Bravery; who, though he commanded a victorious Army, and had a very great Assurance of mastering the Kingdom of the Persians, was, with so much Modesty obedient to the Orders of the absent Magistrates, as if he had been a private Person in the Forum of Sparta. Whose Example * I wish our Generals would have followed! But let us return to the Business. Agesilaus preferred a good Name before the most wealthy Kingdom, and thought it much more glorious if he obeyed the Laws of his Country, than if he conquered Asia in War. With this Mind therefore he drew his Forces over the Hellespont, and used so much Expedition, that he made in thirty Days a March that Xerxes was a whole Year about. When he was now not far from Peloponnesus, the Athenians and Beotians, and the rest of their Allies, endeavoured to oppose him at † Coronea; all which he conquered in a great Battle. It was the most commendable Thing in this Victory, that when a great many after the Rout had thrown themselves into*

* In these Words our Author had a Respect to Julius Cesar chiefly, who refused to disband his Army at the Command of the Senate; which was the Occasion of the Civil War, that ended in the Ruin of the Liberty and the Glory of Rome together.

† A City of Beotia.

sus arma tulerant, tamen antetulit iræ religionem, & eos vetuit violari. Neque hoc solum in Græciâ fecit, ut templa deorum sancta haberet; sed etiam, apud barbaros, summâ religione, omnia simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque prædicabat, Mirari se, non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus eorum nocuissent, aut non gravioribus pœnis affici, qui religionem minuerunt quàm qui sana spoliarent.

*into the Temple of Minerva, and it was asked him, what he would have done with them? Altho' he had received some Wounds in that Battle, and seemed angry with them all who had borne Arms against him, yet he preferred his Religion before the gratifying his Resentment, and forbade them to be hurt. Nor did he do this only in Greece, that is, treat the Temples of the Gods as sacred; but likewise preserved, even amongst the Barbarians, all the Images of the Gods, and Altars, with the highest Veneration. Wherefore he said, He wondered that these were not accounted in the Number of sacrilegious Villains, who hurt their Suppliants, or that they were not punished with more heavy Punishment, who * prejudiced Religion, than those who robbed Temples.*

CAP. V. Post hoc prælium, collatum est omne bellum circa Corinthum, ideoque Corinthium est appellatum. Hic, quum unâ pugna decem millia hostium, Agefilao duce, cecidissent, eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatæ viderentur; tantum absuit ab insolentiâ gloriæ, ut commiseratus sit fortunam Græciæ, quod tam multi à se victi, vitio adversariorum, concidissent. Namque illâ multitudine, si sana
mens

CHAP. V. After this Battle, the Whole of the War was drawn together about Corinth, and therefore was called the Corinthian War. Here, when Ten Thousand of the Enemy had been slain in one Battle, wherein Agefilas was General, and the Strength of the Enemy seemed broken by that Action; he was so far from the Insolence of boasting, that he lamented the Fortune of Greece, that so many, by the Fault of the Enemies, had been conquered by him, and fallen. For with that
Number

* If these Words of our Author are capable of any good consistent Sense, I confess, for my Part, I understood them not.

mens esset Græciæ Supplicium Persas dare potuisse. Idem, quum adversarios intra mœnia compulisset, & ut Corinthum oppugnaret multi hortarentur, negavit id suæ virtuti convenire: Se enim eum esse dixit, qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret; non qui urbes nobilissimas expugnaret Græciæ. Nam si (inquit) extinguere voluerimus qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmetipsi nos expugnaverimus, illis quiescentibus; quo facto, sine negotio, quum voluerint, nos opprimunt.

CAP. VI. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedæmoniis; quo ne proficisceretur quum à plerisque ad exeundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, exire noluit. Idem, quum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret, essetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non fuisse, in quo quidem discrimine, celeritas ejus consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam quum quidam adolescentuli, hostium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent, & locum extra urbem editum cepissent: Agelilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret, si animadversum esset quenquam ad hostes transfugere conri,

cum

Number of Men, the Persians might have been punished by Greece, if they had but a right Mind. The same Man, when he had forced the Enemies within their Walls, and many advised him to attack Corinth, he denied that was agreeable to his Conduct: For he said, He was one who would force offenders to return to their Duty; not take the noblest Cities of Greece: For if, says he, we have a Mind to ruin these who have sided with us against the Barbarians, we shall conquer ourselves whilst they are quiet; after which, they will, without Difficulty, subdue us when they please.

CHAP. VI. In the mean Time that Calamity at Leuctra befel the Lacedæmonians; whether tho' he was pressed by a great many to go, as if he had had a divine Foresight of the Event, he would not go. The same Man, when Epaminondas attacked Sparta, and the Town was without walls, showed himself such a General, that at that Time it was visible to all People, that unless he had been there, Sparta would not have been any more. In which Danger the Quickness of his Contrivance was the Preservation of them all. For when certain young Men, affrighted with the Approach of the Enemy, intended to run over to the Theban, and had seized a high Place without the City; Agelilaus, who saw that that would be of the most pernicious Consequence, if 'it

X

Agelila

cum suis eò venit, atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium eorum, quòd eum locum occupassent, & se id quoque fieri debere animadvertisse. Sic adolescentulos stimulatà laudatione recuperavit; & adjunctis de suis comitibus, locum tutum reliquit: namque illi, aucto numero eorum, qui expertes erant consilii, commovere se non sunt ausi; eoque libentius, quod latere arbitrabantur, quæ cogitarent.

*should be observed, that any one endeavoured to fly over to the Enemy, came with some of his Men thither; and as if they had done it with a good Intention, commended their Thought, in that they had seized that Place, and that he had observed, that ought to be done. Thus he recovered the young Fellows by a pretended Commendation of them; and having joined some of his Attendants with them, he left the Place safe; for they, * their Number being increased with those who were acquainted with the Design, durst not stir; and they stood the more willingly, because they thought that what they had intended was not known.*

CAP. VII. Sine dubio, post Leuctricam pugnam, Lacedæmonii se nunquam refecerunt, neque pristinum imperium recuperarunt: quum, interim, Agesilaus non desuit quibusque rebus posset, patriam juvare. Nam quum præcipue Lacedæmonii indegerent pecuniâ, ille omnibus, qui à rege defecerant, præsidio fuit; à quibus magnâ donatus pecuniâ, patriam sublevavit. Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile; quum maxima munera ei ab regibus

CHAP. VII. *Without doubt, after the Battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians never recovered themselves, nor regained their former Power; whilst, in the mean Time, Agesilaus did not cease to help his Country, by whatsoever Means he could. For when the Lacedæmonians very much wanted Money, he was the Security of all those that had revolted from the King; by whom being presented with a great Sum of Money, he relieved his Country. And in this Man this was above all other Things to be admired: When very great*

* Our Author has expressed himself here improperly; For it is visible he intended what I have expressed in my Translation: But it is as visible to any attentive Reader, that his Words will not bear that Sense, nor, indeed, any good Sense at all.

regibus, & dynastis, civitatibusque conferrentur, nihil unquam in domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit: domo eadem fuit contentus, quā Eurysithenes, progenitor majorum suorum, fuerat usus; quam qui intrarat, nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat: contra, plurima patientiæ atque abstinentiæ. Sic enim erat instructa, ut nulla in re differret à cujusvis inopis atque privati.

great Presents were made him by Kings and Princes and States, he brought nothing over to his own Home, changed nothing of the Diet and Dress of the Lacedæmonians: He was content with the same House, which Eurysithenes, the Progenitor of his Forefathers, had used; which he that entered, could see no Sign of Lust, no Sign of Luxury; but, on the other Hand, many of Hardiness and Justice. For it was so furnished, that it differed in nothing from the House of any poor and private Person.

CAP. VIII. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore, exiguus, & claudus altero pede. Quæ res etiam nonnullam afferebat de formitatem: atque ignoti, faciem ejus quum intuerentur, contemnebant: qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari satis. Quod ei usu venit, quum annorum octoginta subsidio Thaco in Ægyptum ivisset, & in aetâ cum suis accubuisset, sine ullo lecto, stratumque haberet tale, ut terra lecta esset stramentis, neque huc amplius quàm pelliculis esset injecta; eodemque comites omnes accubuissent, vestitu humili, atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modò in his regem neminem significaret; sed hominis non beatissimi suspicionem præceret.

Hujus

CHAP. VIII. *And this so great a Man, as he had had Nature a Favourer of him, in bestowing the Endowments of the Mind on him, so he found her mischievous in his Body, being little, and lame of one Foot. Which Thing occasioned likewise some Deformity; and Strangers, when they beheld his Person, despised him; but they, who knew his Ability, could not admire him sufficiently. Which happened to him when he went, at Fourscore Years of Age, into Egypt, to the Relief of Thacus, and was laid upon the Shore with his Men, without any Covering, and had such a Convenience for lying on, that the Earth was but covered with Straw, and nothing more than a Skin thrown upon it; and all his Attendants likewise laid upon the same, in mean and threadbare Cloaths, that their Dress did not only set forth, that none amongst them was a*

X 2

King;

Hujus de adventu fama quum ad regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eò cujusque generis sunt allata. His querentibus Agesilaum, vix fides facta est, unum esse ex his qui tam acubabant. Qui quum regis verbis, quæ attulerant, dedissent, ille præter vitulina & hujusmodi genera obsonii, quæ præsens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; unguenta, coronas, secundumque mensam servis dispendit: cætera referri jussit. Quo facto eum barbari magis etiam ignorantia bonarum rerum illa potissimum sumissee arbitrabantur. Hic quum ex Ægypto reverteretur, donatus à rege Nectanebe ducentis viginti talentis, quæ ille muneri populo suo daret, venissetque in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, jacens inter Cyrenas & Ægyptum; in morbum implicitus decessit. Ibi eum amici quò, Spartam facilius

King; but gave a Suspicion of a Person there not very rich. When the News of his coming was brought to the Courtiers, Presents were quickly brought him of every Kind. * Scarcely was a Persuasion wrought in them, upon enquiring for Agesilaus, that he was one of those that then lay there. Who, when they had given him in the King's Name what they had brought, took nothing but Meat, and such Sorts of Victuals which the present Occasion required; he divided the sweet Ointments, Crowns, and Sweetmeats amongst the Slaves, and commanded the rest to be carried back. Upon which the Barbarians despised him still the more because they thought he had made Choice of those Things out of Ignorance of what was good. When he returned from Egypt, being presented by King Nectanebes with Two Hundred and Twenty Talents, to give as a Present to his People, and was come into the Harbour which is called

* This is, to my thinking, as pretty a Picture, as is any where to be met with in all Antiquity, and enough to give a Man a Dislike for the Vanities and Fopperies that human Life is so much cumbered and crowded with. Methinks, I see a Parcel of empty, gay, fluttering Fops, that had no Relish for any Thing truly great and good, expressing, by their Sneers and scornful Air, a Contempt for the greatest Endowments of the human Mind, because not set off with what alone they were capable of admiring; whilst the glorious Man, with a Sedateness suitable to his Grandeur, and a perfect Sense of the Folly of the sorry Animals about him, and as hearty a Contempt for their Opinion of him, satisfies the Necessities of Nature in the most proper Manner, and leaves them to sneer on.

ciliùs perferre possent, quòd mel non habebant, cerà circumfuderunt, atque ita domum retulerunt.

*called Menelaus, lying betwixt * Cyrene and Egypt; falling into a Distemper, he died. Thence his Friends, that they might the more conveniently carry him to Sparta, because they had no † Honey, wrapped him in Wax; and so brought him Home.*

* A City of Africa, upon the Mediterranean, West from Egypt.

† The Spartans made Use of Honey, in embalming dead Bodies.





XVIII.

E U M E N E S,
Cardianus.

CAP. I.

Umenes Cardianus.
 I Hujus si virtuti par
 data esset fortuna,
 non ille quidem
 major, sed multo
 illustrior, atque etiam ho-
 noratior: quod magnos ho-
 mines virtute metimur, non
 fortunâ. Nam quum ætas
 ejus incidisset in ea tempora,
 quibus Macedones florent,
 multum ei detraxit, inter eos
 viventi, quod alienæ erat ci-
 vilitatis. Neque aliud huic
 defuit, quàm generosâ stirps:
 cû enim ille domestico sum-
 mo genere erat, tamen Ma-
 cedones cum sibi aliquando
 anreponi, indignè seiebant.
 Neque tamen non patiebantur;
 vincebat enim omnes
 curâ, vigilantîâ, patientiâ,
 calliditate & celeritate inge-
 nii. Hic, peradolescens, ad
 amicitiam accessit Philip-
 pi, Amyntæ filii, brevique
 tempore in intimam perve-
 nit familiaritatem; fulgebat
 enim jam in adolescentulo in-
 doles virtutis. Itaque eum
 habuit ad manum, scribæ lo-
 co; quod multo apud Græcos
 honori-

XVIII.

E U M E N E S, the
Cardian.

CHAP. I.

Umenes the Cardian.
 E If Fortune had been
 allotted him equal to
 his great Abilities, he
 would not indeed
 have been a greater Man, but
 much more illustrious, and, like-
 wise, more honourable; because
 we measure great Men by their
 great Qualities, and not by their
 Fortune. For his Life having
 fallen in those Times, in which the
 Macedonians flourished, it took
 from him very much, as he lived
 amongst them, that he was of
 a foreign Nation. Nor was any
 Thing else wanting to him, but
 a noble Descent: For though he
 was of the highest Quality
 at Home, yet the Macedonians
 took it heinously, that he was
 sometimes preferred before them.
 Neither yet did they not bear
 with it; for he excelled them
 all in Care, Vigilance, Hardi-
 ness, Subility, and Quickness of
 Parts. He, when a very young
 Man, was admitted to the Friend-
 ship of Philip, the Son of Amyn-
 tas, and in a short Time came to
 an intimate Familiarity with
 him: For even then there ap-
 peared

honorificentius est, quàm apud Romanos: nam apud nos revera, sicut sunt, mercenarii scribæ existimantur; at apud illos, contrariò, nemo ad id officium admittitur, nisi honesto loco, & fide, & industriâ cognitâ; quòd necesse est omnium consiliorum eum esse participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitie apud Philippum annos septem. Illo interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim. Novissimò tempore præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ, quæ *Hætarice* appellabatur. Utrique autem & in concilio semper affuit, & omnium rerum habitus est particeps.

CAP. II. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna singulis familiaribus dispartirentur, & summa rerum tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens anulum suum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, cum regnum ei commendâsse, quoad liberi ejus in suam tutelam pervenissent: (aberant enim Craterus & Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur: mortuus erat Hephæstus, quem

*appeared in him, though very young, an able Genius. Wherefore he kept him with him in the Place of a Secretary; which is much more honourable amongst the Greeks than amongst the Romans; for with us Secretaries are accounted in Reality, as they are, Hirelings: but with them, on the contrary, nobody is admitted to that Office, unless of a good Family, and known Integrity and Industry; because it is necessary for him to be a Sharer in all Counsels. He held this Post of Friendship under Philip seven Years. After he was slain, he was in the same Place under Alexander thirteen Years. At last likewise he commanded one Wing of Horse, which was called * Hætarice. He was with both of them always one in the Council, and was treated as an Associate in all Affairs.*

CHAP. II. *Alexander dying at Babylon, when Kingdoms were distributed to each of his Friends, and the chief Management of Affairs was delivered to him to take Care of, to whom Alexander, when dying, had given his Ring, to Perdiccas: From whence all had conjectured, that he had recommended his Kingdom to him, till his Children should come to be in their own Tutition (for Craterus and Antipater were absent, who seemed to be before him: Hephæstus*

* *Ala* is used for the Wing of an Army consisting of Horse, whether more or less; but here it is put for a certain standing body of Horse, called *Hætarice*, because it was made up of Gentlemen that were Associates, or Companions of the King.

unum Alexander, quod facile intelligi posset, plurimi fecerat) hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia, sive potius dicta; nam tum in hostium erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adjunxerat magno studio, quod in homine fidem & industriam magnam videbat; non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno usui fore sibi in his rebus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim (quod ferè omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt) omnium partes corrumpere atque amplecti. Neque verò hoc solus fecit, sed cæteri quoque omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus, Leonnatus Macedoniam præoccupare destinaverat: Is multis magnis pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit, ut Perdiccam desereret, ac secum faceret societatem. Quum perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est: & fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex præidiis ejus effugisset.

CAP. III. Interim confata sunt illa bella, quæ ad internecionem, post Alexandri mortem, gesta sunt; omnesque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum: Quem etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, tamen amicum non deseruit; neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Præiecerat cum Perdiccas ei parti Asiæ,

his was dead, whom Alexander, as might be easily understood, had valued very highly;) at this Time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather named for him; for then it was in the Power of the Enemies. Him Perdiccas had engaged to him with great Earnestness, because he saw in the Man great Integrity and Industry; not doubting, if he could but wheedle him over, that he would be of great Service to them in those Things which he had in Agitation. For he intended (what commonly all in great Empires covet) to seize and take in the Shares of all the rest. Nor did he alone do this, but likewise all the rest, who had been Alexander's Friends. First, Leonnatus had intended to seize upon Macedonia; he endeavoured to persuade Eumenes, by many and great Promises, to forsake Perdiccas, and to make an Alliance with him. When he could not bring him to, he attempted to kill him; and had done it, unless he had privately escaped in the Night-time out of his Garisons.

CHAP. III. In the mean Time those Wars broke out, which, after the Death of Alexander, were carried on to the utter Ruin of the Parties; and all agreed together to ruin Perdiccas: When though he saw but weak, because he alone was forced to stand against them all, yet he did not forsake his Friend; nor was he more desirous of his own Security, than of preserving his Honour.

Asiæ, quæ inter Taurum montem jacet atque Hellespontum: & illum unum opposuerat Europæis adversariis: ipse Ægyptum oppugnatum adversus Ptolemæum erat profectus. Eumenes, quum neque magnas copias, neque firmas haberet, quod inexercitatae, & non multo antè erant contractæ; adventare autem dicerentur, Hellespontumque transiisse Antipater & Craterus, magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate, tum usu belli præstantes: (Macedones verò milites eâ tunc erant famâ, quâ nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summam imperii potirentur) Eumenes intelligebat, si copiae suæ cognoscerent, adversus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuncio dilapsuras: Itaque hoc ejus fuit prudentissimum consilium, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non possent; & his persuaderet, se contra quosdam barbaros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc propositum & prius in aciem exercitum eduxit, præhuncque commisit, quàm milites sui scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum præoccupatione, uti equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quàm peditatu, quo erat deterior.

nour. Perdicas had set him over that Part of Asia, which lies betwixt Mount Taurus and the Hellespont; and had posted him alone against all his European Adversaries: He himself had marched against Ptolemy, to invade Egypt. Eumenes, though he had neither a great Army, nor a strong one, because it was unexercised, and raised not long before, and Antipater and Craterus were said to be coming, and to have passed the Hellespont with a great Army of Macedonians, Men, excelling both in Fame and Experience in War: (For the Macedonian Soldiers were then in that Repate, in which the Romans now are reckoned; for they have been always accounted the most valiant who held the chief Sway in the World) Eumenes was sensible, if his Troops understood against whom they were led, that they would not only not march, but would slip away with the News of it. Wherefore this Contrivance of his was very prudent, to lead his Soldiers by out-of-the-way Marches, in which they could not hear the Truth; and to persuade them, that he was marching against some Barbarians. And accordingly he carried his Point, and drew his Army out into the Field, and joined Battle, before his Soldiers knew with whom they were engaged. He likewise gained that Point, by his timely seizing of Places, that he fought more with his Horse, in which he was stronger, than with his Foot, in which he was but weak.

CAP. IV. Quorum acerrimo concursu quum magnam partem diei esset pugnatum, cadit Craterus dux, & Neoptolemus, qui secundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc concurrat ipse Eumenes; qui, quum inter se complexi, in terram ex equis decidissent, ut facile intelligi posset minicâ mente contendisse, animoque magis etiam pugnâsse, quàm corpore: non prius distracti sunt, quàm alteram anima reliquerit. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur: neque eò magis ex pralio excessit, sed acrius hostilus insilit. Hic, equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis præterea & maximè nobilibus, captis; pedestris exercitus, quod in ea loca erat deductus, ut invito humene elabi non posset, pacem ab eo petit: quam quum impetrasset, in sine non mansit, & se, simul ac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum clatum recitare studuit; quum id non potuisset, pro hominis dignitate proque puerâ amicitia (namque illo uisus erat, Alexandro vivo familiariter) amplo funere extulit, ossaque in Macedoniam uxorî eius ac liberis remisit.

CAP.

CHAP. IV. *After they had fought in a very desperate Engagement, a great Part of the Day, Craterus the General falls, and Neoptolemus too, who had the second Post of Command. With him Eumenes himself engages; who, when grappling one another, they had fallen upon the Ground from their Horses, that it might easily be understood that they had engaged with a pernicious Intention, and fought more with Mind than Body, were not separated, before Life left one of them. Eumenes is wounded by him with some Strides; nor did he for that go out of the Battle, but pressed more briskly upon the Enemy. Here, the Horse being routed, their General Craterus slain, many besides, and especially Noblemen, being taken; the Infantry, because they were got into those Places, from whence they could not escape without Eumenes's Leave, begged Peace of him; which when they had obtained, they did not continue in their Engagement, and withdrew themselves, as soon as they could, to Antipater. Eumenes endeavoured to recover Craterus, being carried half alive out of the Field: When he could not do that, he buried him with a noble Funeral, according to the Dignity of the Man, and their former Friendship (for he had been very familiar with him, whilst Alexander was living;) and sent his Bones into Macedonia to his Wife and Children.*

CHAP.

CAP. V. Hæc dum apud Helleſpontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud flumen Nilum interficitur à Seleuco & Antigono; rerumque ſumma ad Antipatrum deſertur. Hic, qui deſeruerant, exercitu ſuffragium ferente, capitis abſentes damnantur: in his Eumenes. Hæc ille percuffus plagâ, non ſuccubuit, neque eo ſecius bellum adminiſtravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem etſi non frangebant, tamen imminuebant. Hunc perſequens Antigonus, quum omni genere copiarum abundaret, ſæpe in itineribus vexabatur, neque unquam ad manum accedere licebat, niſi his locis, quibus multis poſſent pauci reſiſtere. Sed extremo tempore, quum conſilio capi non poſſet, multitudine circumventus eſt: Hinc tamen, multis ſuis amiſſis, ſe expedivit: & in caſtellum Phrygiæ, quod Nora appellatur, conſupit: In quo, cùm circumſederetur, & vereretur, ne uno loco manens, equos militares perderet, quò ſpatium non eſſet agitandi; callidum fuit ejus inventum, quemadmodum ſtans jumentum caleſci fieri exerceſque poſſet, quò libentiùs & cibo uteretur, & à corporis motu non removeretur. Subſtringebat caput loro altiùs, quam ut prioribus pedibus planè terram poſſet attingere; deinde poſt verberibus cogeſcit exultare, & calc-

ces

CHAP. V. *While theſe Things are done at the Helleſpont, Perdiccas was ſlain at the River Nile, by Seleucus and Antigonus; and the chief Direction of Affairs is conſerr'd upon Antipater. Here, they who had forſaken them, the Army giving their Votes, are condemn'd in their Abſence to the Loſs of Life: Amongſt theſe was Eumenes. He, being ſhock'd with this Stroke, yet did not ſink under it, nor ever a whit the leſs go on with the War. But little Things, though they did not break the Greatneſs of his Mind, yet they leſſen'd it. Antigonus purſuing him, though he abounded in all Sorts of Troops, was often ſadly plagu'd by him in his Marches, nor could he ever come to Strokes, but in thoſe Places, in which a few might reſiſt many. But at laſt, when he could not be taken by Conduct, he was ſurrounded by their vaſt Number; yet he got clear from hence too, many of his Men being loſt, and ſet into a Caſtle of Phrygia, which is call'd Nora: In which, when he was beſieg'd, and afraid, leſt, by ſtaying in one Place, he ſhould ſpoil his War-Horſes, becauſe there was no Room to exerciſe them; his Invention was cunning, how a Horſe might be ſwarm'd and exerciſed ſtanding, that he might both eat his Provender more freely, and not be kept from beaſtly Aſtiſion. He tied up his Head with a leathern Strap, higher than that he could quite touch the Ground with his*
Y 2 Fore-feet;

ces remittere: qui motus non minùs sudorem exercebat, quàm si in spatio decurrerent. Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut iumenta æquè nitida ex castello educeret, quum complures menses in obsidione fuisset, ac si in campestribus ea locis habuisset. Eâ conclusione, quotiescunque voluit, & apparatus & munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disiecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco, quamdiu fuit hyems, quòd castra sub dio habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat, simulatâ deditione, dum de conditionibus tractat, præfectis Antigoni imposuit, seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.

CAP. VI. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quæ fuerat Alexandri, quum literas & nuncios misisset in Asiam, consultum utrum repetitum veniet Macedoniam, (nam tum in Epiro habitabat) & eas res occuparet: huic ille primùm suavit, ne se moveret, & expectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur: sin aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, omnium injuriarum oblivisceretur, & in neminem acerbioreretur imperio. Horum nihil ea fecit; nam & in Macedoniam

Forc-fast; then he forced him, with hissing behind, to bounce, and throw back his Heels: which Motion fetched the Sweat no less, than if they had run in the open Field. By which was effected that which seemed wonderful to all, that he drew his Horses as neat out of the Castle, though he had been several Months under a Siege, as if he had had them in the open Fields. In that Siege, as often as he had a Mind, he one while set on fire, and another while tore a-pieces, all the Works and Fortifications of Antigonus. But he kept himself in one Place, as long as it was Winter, because he could not have a Camp in the open Air. Now Spring approached, pretending to surrender, whilst he treats upon the Terms, he imposed upon the Commanders of Antigonus, and drew off himself and all his Men safe.

CHAP. VI. When Olympias, who had been the Mother of Alexander, had sent Letters and Messengers into Asia to him to consult him, whether she should come to recover Macedonia, (for she then lived in Epiro) and seize the Government there; he first of all advised her not to stir, and to stay till the Son of Alexander should get the Kingdom; but if she was carried by any strong Desire for Macedonia, to forget all Injuries, and to use a rigid Government towards no body. She did nothing of this: For she both went into Macedonia, and there

cedoniam profecta est, & ibi crudelitissimè se gessit. Petivit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur Philippi domus & familiæ inimicissimos regnare, amicissimos interire, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri: quam veniam, si sibi daret, quàm primùm exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret: id quò facilius faceret, se omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse literas, ut ei parerent, ejusque consiliis uterentur. His verbis Eumenes permotus, factius duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire bene meritis referentem Gratiam, quàm ingratum vivere.

CAP. VII. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit. Quòd unà erant Macedones complures nobiles, in his Leucestes, qui corporis custos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Persidem; & Antigenes, cujus sub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens (quam tamen effugere non potuit) si potius ipse alienigena summi imperii potiretur, quàm alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo; in principiis nomine Alexandri statuit tabernaculum,

there behaved herself most cruelly. She begged too of Eumenes, though absent, that he would not suffer the bitter Enemies of Philip's House and Family to reign, and his best Friends to perish, and bring Assistance to the Children of Alexander: Which Favour, if he would do her, he might raise Armies as soon as possible, to bring to their Relief: That he might do that the more easily, she had written to all the Governors of Provinces, that continued in their Duty, to obey him, and take his Advice. Eumenes being moved with these Words of her's, thought it better, if Fortune would have it so, to perish in making a Return to those that had deserved well from him, than to live ungrateful.

CHAP. VII. Wherefore he got together Troops, and prepared for a War again't Antigonus. Because there were with him a great many noble Macedonians, and amongst them Leucestes, who had been a Life-Guard Man of Alexander's, and at that Time held Persia; and Antigenes, under whose Command the Phalanx of the Macedonians was, fearing Envy (which yet he could not escape) if he a Stranger should rather have the chief Command, than others of the Macedonians, of which there was a great Number there; he erects a Tent in the * Principia, in the Name

* The *Principia* was that Place in the Camp, where the General's Tent was, where the Standards were stuck in the Earth, during the

lum, in eoque sellam auream, cum sceptro ac diademate. iussit poni, eoque omnes quotidie convenire, ut ubi de summis rebus consilia caperentur; credens minore se invidiâ fore, si specie imperii, nominisque simulatione Alexandri, bellum videretur administrare: quod & fecit; nam quum non ad Eumenis principia, sed ad regia conveniretur, atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo latebat, quum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

CHAP. VIII. Hic in Parætacis cum Antigono confligit, non acie instructâ, sed in itinere; cumque male receptum in Mediam Hyëmarum coëgit redire. Iste in finitimâ regione Persidis hyëmatum copias divinit; non ut voluit, sed ut momentum coge-
bat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quæ Asiæ peragrârat, deviceratque Persas, inveteratâ cum gloriâ, tam etiam licentiâ, non parâ se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. Itaque periculum est ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt suâ intemperantiâ, nimique licentiâ, ut omnia perdant, neque minùs eos, cum quibus

Name of Alexander, and ordered a Gold Chair, with a Sceptre and a Diadem, to be placed in it, and all to repair thither every Day, that there Council might be taken about important Affairs; thinking that he should be under less Envy, if he appeared to manage the War, under Show of the Command, and under Pretence of the Name of Alexander: which he likewise did; for as they did not meet at the Principia of Eumenes, but at the King's, and there debated about their Affairs, he in a Manner was concealed, though notwithstanding all Things were done by him alone.

CHAP. VIII. He engaged in the Country of the * Parætaci, with Antigonus, not with his Army, nor in a pitched battle, but upon his March; and forced him, being ill handled, to return into Media, to winter. He distributed his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in the neighbouring Country of Persia, not as he had a Mind, but as the Pleasure of the Soldiers obliged him. For that Phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had over-run all Asia, and overcome the Persians, being grown old both in Glory and Licentiousness too, expected not to obey their Generals, but to command them, as our Veterans now do. Wherefore there is some Danger, lest they should do what those did, by their disorderly Behaviour, and extravagant Licen-

the Encampment; there likewise Courts, for the Cognizance of Misdemeanors, and Councils of War, were held.

* A People of Persia.

bus steterint, quàm adversus quos fecerint. Quòd si quis illorum veteranorum legat tacta, paria horum cognoscat; neque rem ullam, nisi tempus, interesse judicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hyberna sumpserant, non ad usum belli, sed ad ipsorum luxuriam: longèque inter se discesserant. Hoc Antigonus quum comperisset, intelligeretque se patrem non esse paratis adversariis, statuit aliquid sibi consilii novi esse capiendum. Duæ erant viæ, quæ ex Medis, ubi ille hyemabat, ad adversariorum hybernacula posset perveniri: quantum brevior per loca deserta, quæ nemo incolebat, propter aquæ inopiam: cæterum dierum erat ferè decem. Illa autem, quæ omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorem habebat anfractum; sed erat copiosa, omniumque rerum abundans. Hæc si proficisceretur, intelligebat prius adversarios rescituros de suo adventu, quàm ille tertiam partem confecisset itineris sui: tunc per loca sola contenderet, sperabat se imprudentem hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam, imperavit quàm plurimos utres atque etiam culeos comparari; post hæc pabulum, præterea cibaria cocta, dierum decem, utque quàm minimè fieret ignis in castris. Iter quod habebat, omnes celat.

Licentiousness, ruin all, no less these with whom they have sided, than those against whom they fought. And if any one reads the Actions of these Veterans, he will find the Actions of these of ours like them; nor will judge there is any Thing of Difference betwixt them, but that of Time. But I shall return to them. They had taken up their Winter Quarters, not for the Convenience of War, but for their own Luxury; and had separated at a great Distance from one another. When Antigonus had found this, and was sensible that he was not a Match for his Enemy prepared for him, he resolves to take some new Course. There were two Ways by which they might come from the Country of the Medæ, to the Winter-Quarters of their Enemies: The shorter of which was through desert Places, which no-body inhabited, by Reason of the Scarcity of Water; but it was only about ten Days March. But the other, by which all People travelled, had a Wind-about a long again; but it was plentiful, and abounding in all Things. If he went this Way, he was afraid his Enemies would know of his Coming, before he had made a third Part of his March; but if he should go through the desert Places, he hoped he should come upon the Enemy unprepared. For the doing of this Matter, he ordered a great many leathern Bottles and Skins to be got together; after that Forge, besides what ready dressed for ten Days, and that as little Fire as possible should be

be made in the Camp. He conceals from all People the March which he was about.

CAP. IX. Sic paratus, quâ constituerat, proficiscitur. Dimidium serè spatium confecerat quum, ex fumo castrorum ejus, suspicio allata est ad Eumenem, hostem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quaeritur quid opus sit factô. Intelligebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi non posse, quàm Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hic omnibus titubantibus, & de rebus summis desperantibus; Eumenes ait, Si celeritatem velint adhibere, & imperata facere, quod antè non fecerint, se rem expediturum; nam quod diebus quinque hostis transire posset, effecturum, ut non minùs totidem dierum spatio retardaretur. Quare circumiient, suas quisque copias contraheret. Ad Antigoni autem restrainandum impetum tale capit consilium: Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adversariorum, hisque præcipit, ut primâ nocte quàm latissimè possint, ignes faciant quàm maximos; atque hos secunda vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant: &, assimulatâ castrorum consuetudine, suspicionem injiciant hostibus, his locis esse castra, ac de eorum adventu esse prænuntiatum; idemq; posteriâ nocte faciant.

CHAP. IX. Being thus provided, he goes the Way he had intended. He had got almost half Way, when, from the Smoke of the Camp, a Suspicion was brought to Eumenes, that the Enemy was coming. The Generals met: It is debated amongst them, what was necessary to be done. They all knew, that their Troops could not so soon be got together, as Antigonus seemed likely to be there. Here all of them hesitating upon the Matter, and despairing of the main Stake: Eumenes says, If they would but use Expedition, and perform Orders, which they had not done before, he would clear the Matter: For whereas the Enemies might pass in five Days, he would take Care that they should be retarded not less than as many Days Time. Wherefore he ordered them to go about, and every Man to get together his Troops. He takes this Method to retard the Progress of Antigonus: He sends trusty Men to the Bottom of the Mountains which were opposite to the Enemy's March, and ordered them to make as large Fires, and as far and wide, as they could, in the Beginning of the Night; and lessening them the second Watch, make them very little the third; and, by imitating the Usage of a Camp, give the Enemy a Suspicion, that there was a Camp in those Parts, and that Notice had been given of their Coming; and to do the same
the

faciant. Quibus imperatum erat diligenter præceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis, ignes conspicatur, credit de suo adventu esse auditum, & adversarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium, &, quoniam imprudentes adoriri non posset, reëctit iter suum, & illum anfractum longiorē copiosæ viæ capit; ibique diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum, ac reficienda jumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

CAP. X. Hic Eumenes calidum imperatorem vicit consilio, celeritatemque impedivit ejus; neque tamen multum profecit; nam invidiâ ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiâque militum Macedonum veteranorum, quum superior prælio discessisset, Antigono est deditus, quum exercitus ei ter antè, separatis temporibus, jurasset, se eum defensurum, nec unquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent, quàm eum non prodere. Atque hunc Antigonus, quin ei fuisset infestissimus, conservasset, si per suos esset licitum, quoddam ab nullo se plus adjuvari posse intelligebat in his rebus, quas impendere jam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim. Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemæus, opibus

the following Night. They, to whom this Order was given, take Care to execute their Order diligently. Antigonus, when the Darkness of Night began, sees the Fires, believes that they had heard of his coming, and that the Enemies had drawn their Troops thither. He alters his Design, and, because he could not set upon them unawares, he turns his March, and takes that longer Wind of a plentiful Rout: and there he stays one Day, to relieve the Weariness of his Soldiers, and refresh the Horses, that he might engage with his Army in good Condition.

CHAP. X. Here Eumenes prevailed against this crafty General by his Contrivance, and slackened his Speed: but yet he did not much Good; for through the Envy of the Generals with whom he was, and the Treachery of the Macedonian Veteran Soldiers, tho' he was superior in the Battle, he was deliver'd up to Antigonus, though the Army had sworn thrice before, at several Times, that they would defend him, and never forsake him. But such was some People's Endeavour to detract from his Worth, that they chose rather to part with their Honour than not betray him. Antigonus too would have saved him, though he had been very bitter against him, if he could but have done it for his Friends, because he was sensible he could be more assist'd by no body in those Things, which now it was apparent to all Peoples were ready

bus jam valentes, cum quibus ei de summis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii, qui circa erant; quòd videbant, Eumene recepto, omnes præ illo pauci futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeò erat incensus, ut nisi magnà spe maximarum rerum lenius non posset.

CAP. XI. Itaque, quum eum in custodiam dedisset, & præfectus custodiam quæfisset quemadmodum servari vellet: Ut acerrimum, inquit, leonem, aut ferocissimum elephantum: Nondum enim statuerat, eum conservaret necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumeneum utrumque genus hominum, & qui, propter odium, frustum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent; & qui propter veterem amicitiam, colloqui consolarique cuperent. Multi etiam, qui ejus formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset, quem tamdiu tamque valde timuissent, cujus in perniciem positam spem habuissent victoriæ. At Eumenes, quum diutius in vinculis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa inpeni erat custodia, se mirari, quare jam tertium diem sic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiæ, ut sic se uteretur victo; quin aut
interfui,

to happen. For Seleucus, Lyfimachus, and Ptolemy, mighty in Strength, were coming upon him, with whom he would be obliged to engage for his All. But those that were about him did not suffer him; because they saw, that if Eumenes was entertained by him, they should all be of small Account in Comparison with him. But Antigonus himself was so incensed, that he could not be mollified, but by a great Expectation of the greatest Advantages.

CHAP. XI. Wherefore, when he had put him under Confinement, and the Commander of the Guard had enquired how he would have him kept, he said, as a most furious Lion, or a very fierce Elephant: For he had not yet determined whether he should save him or no. Now both Sorts of People came to Eumenes, those who, because of their Hatred of him had a Mind to receive a Satisfaction by their own Eyes from his Fall; and those who, because of their old Friendship for him, desired to speak with him, and to comfort him: Many likewise, who were desirous to know his Person, and what Sort of Man he was, whom they had feared so long, and so very much, in whose Destruction they had placed their Hopes of Victory. But Eumenes, after he had been long in Chains, says to Onomarchus, in whom the chief Command of the Guard was, That he wondered why he was thus kept now the third Day; for this was not agreeable to the Prudence of Antigonus, thus to
abuse

interfici, aut missum fieri juberet. Hic quum ferocius Onomarcho loqui videretur. *Quid tu,* inquit, *animo si isto eras, cur non prælio cecidisti potius quàm in potestatem inimici venires?* Huic Eumenes, *Utinam quidem istud evenisset,* inquit: *sed id non accidit, quòd nunquam cum fortiore sum congressus; non enim cum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi succubuerit: Non enim virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidià decidi.* Neque id falsum; nam & dignitate fuit honesta & viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis, neque tam magno corpore, quàm figurà venusta.

abuse him he had conquered; that he should order him either to be slain, or to be discharged. *As he seemed to Onomarchus to talk very boldly: What, says he, if you were of that Mind, why did not you rather fall in Battle, than come into the Power of your Enemy?* To him Eumenes replied, I wish that had befallen me indeed; but it therefore did not happen, because I never engaged with a flouter than myself; for I did not fight with any one, but he fell under me: For I fell not by the Bravery of my Enemies, but by the Treachery of my Friends. *Nor was that false; * for he was a Man of gentle Gracefulness of Person, and of Strength sufficient for the bearing of Fatigue, yet not of so large a Body, as a handsome Shape.*

CAP. XII. De hoc Antigonus quum solus constitutur non auderet, ad concilium ietulit. Hi, quum plerique omnes, animo perturbati, admirarentur, non jam de eo sumptum esse supplicium, à quo tot annos adeo essent malè habiti, ut sæpe ad desperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces interfecisset; denique in quo uno esset tantum, ut, quoad ille viveret,

CHAP. XII. *As Antigonus durst not determine about him alone, he proposed the Matter to a Council. Here, when almost all of them, much disturbed in Mind, wondered he was not already punished, by whom they had been so ill handled for so many Years, that they were often brought to Despair, and who had taken off the greatest Generals; finally, in whom alone there was so much Weight, that so long as*

Z 2

he

* This seems but an odd Kind of a Reason for his being too hard for all he fought with. Had he encountered Ladies with the like Success, then indeed his *Dignitas Honestæ*, his *Venusta Figura* might well be supposed to have stood him in a good Stead; but what they could signify against hard Bangs and cold Iron, I cannot imagine.

viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent; interfecto, nihil habiuri negotii essent: postremo, si illi redderet salutem, quærebant, quibus amicis esset usus? Sese enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic, cognita concilii voluntate, tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit: Tum autem, quum vereretur, ne qua seditio exercitus oriretur, vetuit ad eum quenquam admitti, & quotidianum victum amoveri iussit: nam negabat se ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen non amplius quam tri-duum fame fatigatus, cum castra moverentur, insciente Antigono, jugulatus est à custodibus.

CAP. XIII. Sic Eumenes, annorum quinque & quadraginta, quum ab anno vigesimo (ut supra ostendimus) septem annos Philippo apparuisset; & tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset; in his uni equitum alæ præfuisset; post autem Alexandri Magni mortem, imperator exercitus duxisset, summosque duces partem repulisset, partim interfecisset; captus, non Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum perjurio, talem habuit exitum vitæ. De quo quanta fuerit omnium opinio eorum, qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati,

he lived, they could not be secure: If he was slain, they should have no Difficulty: Finally, if he gave him his Life, they asked him what Friends he intended to make Use of; for they would not be with him, together with Eumenes. Having known the Mind of the Council, yet he left himself Time to consider, till the seventh Day: But then, when he was now afraid, lest any Mutiny of the Army should arise upon it, he forbade any one to be admitted to him, and ordered his daily Food to be withdrawn; for he denied that he would offer Violence to him, who had once been his Friend. Yet he being tormented with Hunger no more than three Days, when the Camp was removed, was butchered by his Guards, Antigonus being ignorant of the Matter.

CHAP. XIII. Thus Eumenes, being five and forty Years old, after he had attended Philip as his Secretary for seven Years, from his twentieth Year, (as we have shewn above) and had held the same Places under Alexander thirteen; in which he commanded only one Wing of the Cavalry; but after Alexander's Death had led Armies as a General, and had partly defeated, and partly slain the greatest Generals; being taken Prisoner, not by the good Conduct of Antigonus, but the Perjury of the Macedonians, had this End of his Life. Of whom how great the Opinion of all these was, who were

appellati, ex hoc facillimè potest judicari: Quòd nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus est, sed præfectus. Idem, post hujus occasum, statim regium ornatum nomenque sumserunt; neque quod initio prædicarant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, id præstare voluerunt: & uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent aperuerunt. Hujus sceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassander. Antigonus autem Eumenem, mortuum, propinquis ejus sepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honestoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt; ossaque ejus in Cappadociam ad matrem, atque uxorem, liberosque ejus deportanda curarunt.

were called Kings after Alexander the Great, may be very easily judged from hence; that none, whilst Eumenes was alive, was named King, but Governor: The same, after his Fall, presently took upon them the Regal Habit and Name too: Nor would they perform what, at first, they had given out, that they would keep the Kingdom for the Children of Alexander: And this their only Protector being taken off, they discovered what they intended. The Leaders in this Villainy were Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. But Antigonus gave Eumenes, when dead, to his Relations to be buried. These buried him with a military and a handsome Funeral, the whole Army attending; and took Care that his Bones were carried into Cappadocia to his Mother, Wife, and Children.





XIX.

PHOCION,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

Phocion Atheniensis. Etsi sæpe exercitibus præfuit, summosque magistratus cepit; tamen multò ejus notior integritas est vitæ, quàm rei militaris labor: Itaque hujus memoria est nulla, illius autem magna fama; ex quo cognomine Bonus est appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuò pauper, quum divitissimus esse posset propter frequentes delatos honores, potestatesque summas, quæ ei à populo debebantur. Hic quum à rege Philippo munera magnæ pecuniæ repudiaret, legati que hortarentur accipere, simulque admonerent, si ipse his facillè careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret, quibus difficile esset, in summa paupertate, tantam paternam tueri gloriam: His ille, *Si mei similes erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos aliet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.*

CAP.

XIX.

PHOCION, *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

Phocion the Athenian. Though he oftentimes commanded Armies and bore the greatest Offices, yet the Integrity of his Life is much more noted than his Performance in military Affairs: Wherefore there is no Account of this, but the Fame of the other is great; from whence he was called by Surname, The Good. For he was always poor, though he might have been very rich because of the frequent Offices conferred upon him, and the great Posts that were given him by the People. When he refused the Present of a great Sum of Money from King Philip, and the Ambassadors advised him to receive it, and at the same Time told him, that if he could easily want it, yet he ought to provide for his Children, for whom it would be difficult, in the utmost Poverty, to maintain the mighty Glory of their Father: To these he replied, If they be like me, this same little Estate will maintain them, which has brought me to this Dignity: But if they shall prove unlike me, I would not have their Luxury maintained

tained and increased at my Charge.

CAP. II. Eidem quum prope ad annum octagesimum prospera permansisset fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit suorum civium. Primò, cum Demade de urbe tradendâ Antipatro consenserat: ejusque consilio Demosthenes, cum cæteris qui bene de republicâ mereri existimabantur, plebiscito in exilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solum offenderat, quòd patriæ malè consuluerat, sed etiam quod amicitiae fidem non præstiterat: namque auctus adjutusque à Demosthene, eum, quem tenebat, ascenderat gradum, quum adversus Charetem eum subornaret; ab eodem in judiciis quum capitis causam diceret, defensus aliquoties liberatus discesserat: hunc non solum in periculis non defendit, sed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maximè uno crimine: quia, quum apud eum summum esset imperium populi, & Nicanorem, Cassandri præfectum, insidiari Piræo Atheniensem, à Dercylo moneretur; idemque postulare, ut provideret, ne commeatibus civitas privaretur: hic, audiente populo, Phocion negavit esse periculum, seque ejus rei obsidem fore pollicitus est; neque ita multo post Nicanor Piræo est

CHAP. II. *After Fortune had continued favourable to him, almost to his eightieth Year, at the latter End of his Time he fell under the great Hatred of his Countrymen. First, he had agreed with Demades about delivering the City to Antipater: And by his Advice, Demosthenes, with the rest, who were thought to deserve well of the Commonwealth, had been forced into Banishment, by a Decree of the People. Nor had he only offended in this, that he had advised ill for his Country, but likewise had not performed the faithful Part in Friendship: for, being supported and assisted by Demosthenes, he had incited to that Flight which he then held, when he suborned him against Chares; being defended by the same in some Trials, when he was tried for his Life, he had come off several Times safe: he not only did not defend him in his Dangers, but likewise betrayed him. But he fell chiefly by one Crime; because when the supreme Government of the People was in him, and he was told by Dercyllus, that Nicanor, Cassander's Governor, had a Design upon Piræus; and the same Man desired, that he would take Care the City was not deprived of its Provisions: Here, in the Hearing of the People, Phocion denied there was any Danger, and promised that he would be*
Security

est potitus: Ad quem recuperandum, sine quo Athenæ omnino esse non possunt, quum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modò neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem præesse voluit.

CAP. III. Erat eo tempore Athenis duæ factiones: quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatum: In hac erat Phocion & Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrocinis nitebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti tavebant; optimates cum Cassandrio sentiebant. Interim, à Polyperchonte Cassander Macedonia pulsus est. Quo facto, populus superior factus, statim duces adversariorum factionis, capitis damnatos, patriâ pepulit: in his Phocionem & Demetrium Phalereum: deque eâ re legatos ad Polyperchontem misit, qui ab eo peterent, ut sua decreta confirmaret. Huc eodem profectus est Phocion: quò ut venit, causam apud Philippum regem verbo, re ipsa quidem apud Polyperchontem jussus est dicere; namque is tum regis rebus præerat. Hic quum ab Agonide accusatus esset, quòd Piræcum Nicanori prodidisset, ex concilii sententiâ in custodiam conjectus, Athenas deductus est, ut ibi de

Security for that Matter; and not long after Nicanor got Pyræus: to recover which when the People ran together in Arms, without which Athens cannot be at all, he not only called out nobody to Arms, but would not so much as command those that were armed.

CHAP. III. There were at that Time two Factions at Athens, one of which stood up for the Cause of the People; the other that of the Quality: In this was Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus. Each of these relied upon the Protection of the Macedonians: for the popular Party favoured Polyperchon; the Gentry sided with Cassander. In the mean Time, Cassander was driven out of Macedonia by Polyperchon. Upon which, the People becoming superior, immediately forced out of their Country the Heads of the opposite Party, condemned to the Loss of Life; among these Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus; and sent Ambassadors about that Matter to Polyperchon, to desire of him that he would confirm their Decrees. To the same went Phocion; whether as soon as he was come, he was obliged to plead his Cause before King Philip in Pretence, but in Reality before Polyperchon; for he at that Time directed the King's Affairs. Being accused by Agonides for having betrayed Piræus to Nicanor, being put under Confinement by Order of the Council, he was carried to Athens,

de eo legibus fieret iudicium.

Athens, that he might have his Trial there according to Law.

CAP. IV. Huc ubi per-
ventum est, quum propter
ætatem pedibus jam non va-
leret, vehiculoque portare-
tur, magni concursus sunt
facti; quum alii, reminiscen-
tes veteris famæ, ætatis mise-
rerentur; plurimi verò ita exa-
cuerentur propter proditionis
suspicionem Piræci: maximè-
que, quòd adversus populi
commoda in senectute steterat.
Quà de re, ne perorandi qui-
dem ei data est facultas, &
dicendi causam. Inde iudi-
cio, legitimis quibusdam con-
fectis, damnatus, traditus est
Undecemviris; quibus ad sup-
plicium, more Atheniensem,
publicè damnati tradi solent.
Hic quum ad mortem ducere-
tur, obvius ei fuit Emphyle-
tus, quo familiariter fuerat
usus; Is quum lacrymans dix-
isset, *O quam indigna perpetr-
is, Phocion!* huic ille, *At non
inopinata*, inquit; *hunc enim exi-
tum plerique domi viri habuerant
Athenienses.* In hoc tantum
fuit odium multitudinis, ut
nemo ausus sit eum liber se-
pelire: Itaque à servis sepul-
tus est.

CHAP. IV. *After he was come
hither, being now lame of his Feet
by Reason of his Age, and carried
in a Chariot, great Crowds of People
gathered about him; whilst some,
remembering his former Fame,
pitied his Age; but very many
were so exasperated because of the
Suspicion of his betraying Piræ-
cus: but chiefly because he had
stood up against the Interest of the
People in his old Age. Wherefore
he had not, indeed, Leave given
him to speak for himself, and plead
his Cause. Then some Formalities
of Law being performed, he was
condemned, and delivered to the
Undecemviri, to whom, according
to the Custom of the Athenians,
these condemned for Offences against
the State used to be delivered.
When he was led to Execution,
Emphyletus met him, whom he had
been very kind with: When he
said, weeping, O! what unwor-
thy Things do you suffer,
Phocion! To him he replies, But
not unexpected; for most of
the famous Men of Athens
have had this End. So great
was the Hatred of the People
against him, that no Freeman durst
bury him: Wherefore he was bu-
ried by his Slaves.*



XX.

TIMOLEON,
Corinthius.

CAP. I.

Timoleon Corinthius. Sine dubio
 T magnus omnium
 judicio hic vir ex-
 titit: Namque huic
 uni contigit, quod nescio an
 ulli, ut patriam, in quâ erat
 natus, oppressam à tyranno,
 liberaret; & à Syraculis, qui-
 bus auxilio erat missus, in-
 veteratam servitutem depelle-
 ret; totamque Siciliam mul-
 tos annos bello vexatam, à
 barbarisque oppressam, suo
 adventu in pristinum statum
 restitueret. Sed in his rebus
 non simplici fortunâ con-
 metatus est; &, id quod
 difficilius putatur, multo sa-
 pientius tulit secundam quàm
 adversam fortunam: nam
 quum frater ejus Timo-
 phanes, dux à Corinthiis de-
 lectus, tyrannidem per mi-
 lites mercenarios occupas-
 set, particepsque regni pos-
 set esse; tantum abfuit à
 societate sceleris, ut antetu-
 lerit suorum civium liberta-
 tem fratris salutem, & patriæ
 legibus obtemperare sanctius
 duxerit, quàm imperare pa-
 triæ.

XX.

TIMOLEON,
the Corinthian.

CHAP. I.

Timoleon the Corinthian.
 T an. Without doubt
 he was a great Man
 in the Judgment of
 every body: For that
 happened to him alone, which I
 know not whether ever it happened
 to any other, that he both deli-
 vered his Country, in which he
 was born, oppressed by a Tyrant,
 and removed an inveterate Sla-
 very from Syracuse, to the Assis-
 tance of which he was sent; and
 restored by his coming to its former
 State all Sicily, that had been
 harrassed with War many Years,
 and oppressed by Barbarians. But
 in these Things he struggled not
 with one sort of Fortune only.
 And, that which is thought much
 the more difficult, he bore his good
 Fortune much better than his ill
 Fortune: For when his Brother
 Timophanes, being chosen General
 by the Corinthians, had seized the
 Government, by the Means of
 the foreign Soldiers in the Corin-
 thian Pay, and he might have
 been a Partner with him in his
 Kingdom; he was so far from a
 Share in his Villainy, that he pre-
 ferred the Liberty of his Country-
 men

tiæ. Hæc mente per aruspiciem communemque asinem, cui soror ex iisdem parentibus nata, nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiendum curavit. Ipse non modò minus non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem fraternum sanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in præsidio fuit, nequis satelles posset succurrere. Hoc præclarissimum ejus facinus non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus: nonnulli enim læsam ab eo pietatem putabant, & invidia laudem virtutis obtinebant. Mater vero, post id factum, neque domum ad se filium admisit, neque aspexit; quin eum fratricidam impiumque detestans compellere. Quibus rebus adeò est commotus, ut nonnunquam vitæ finem facere voluerit, atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.

CAP. II. Interim Diono Syraculis interfecto, Dionysius rursus Syracusarum potitus est. Cujus adversarii opem à Corinthiis petiverunt, ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, postulabant. Huc Timoleon missus, incredibili felicitate Dionysium totà Sicilia depulit. Quam interficere posset, noluit, tunc-

men before his Brother's Life, and thought it better to obey the Laws of his Country, than to rule over his Country. With this Mind he took Care to have his Brother the Usurper slain by a Soothsayer, and their common Relation, to whom their Sister, born of the same Parents, was married. He not only did not put a Hand to the Work, but he would not indeed see his Brother's Blood. For whilst the Thing was doing, he was at a Distance upon the Watch, lest any Life-guard-Man should succour him. This most noble Action of his was not approved of in the like Manner by all: For some thought natural Affection had been violated by him, and out of Envy endeavoured to lessen the Praise of his Virtue. But his Mother, after that Fact, did neither permit her Son to come home to her, nor would look at him; but cursing him, called him the Murderer of his Brother, and a wicked Villain. With which Things he was so much moved, that sometimes he had a Mind to put an End to his Life, and to withdraw by Death out of the Sight of ungrateful Men.

CAP. II. In the mean Time Dion being slain at Syracuse, Dionysius again got Syracuse; whose Enemies begged Assistance of the Corinthians, and desired a General whom they might make Use of in the War: Timoleon being sent thither, drove Dionysius out of all Sicily, with incredible good Fortune: And when he might have killed him, would not, and took

que ut Corinthum perveniret, effecit, quòd utrorumque Dionysiorum opibus Corinthii sæpe adjuti fuerant: cujus benignitatis memoriam volebat extare; eamque præclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus esset clementiæ quàm crudelitatis. Postremo, ut non solum auribus acciperetur, sed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem, & ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detrusisset: post Dionysii decessum, cum Iectâ bellavit, qui adversatus fuerat Dionysio; quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse, sed cupiditate, indicio fuit, quòd ipse, expulso Dionysio, imperium demittere noluit. Hoc superato, Timoleon maximas copias Carthaginensium apud Crimissum flumen fugavit, ac satis habere coëgit, si liceret Africam obtinere, qui jam complures annos possessionem Siciliæ tenebant. Cepit etiam Mamercum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicosum & potentem, qui tyrannos adjutum in Siciliam venerat.

CAP. III. Quibus rebus confectis, quum propter diuturnitatem belli non solum regiones, sed etiam urbes desertas videret; conquirit quos petuit, primùm Siculos, deinde Corintho arcessivit colonos, quòd ab his initio Syracusæ erant condite.

Care that he should come safe to Corinth, because the Corinthians had been often assisted by the Power of both the Dionysuses; the Memory of which Kindness he had a Mind should continue; and he reckoned that a noble Victory, in which there was more of Clemency than of Cruelty. Finally, that it might not only be heard by the Ears, but seen by the Eyes, whom and from how great a Kingdom, to what a Fortune he had reduced; after the Departure of Dionysius, he made War with Iectas, who had opposed Dionysius; who did not contend with him, out of Hatred of his Tyranny, but out of a Desire of it; as this was a Proof, that he, after Dionysius was forced away, would not quit his Power. He being conquered, Timoleon overthrew a great Army of the Carthaginians, at the River Crimessus, and forced them to be content, if they could but keep Africa, who had now kept Possession of Sicily for several Years. He likewise took Mamercus, an Italian General, a warlike and a powerful Man, who had come into Sicily to help the Tyrants.

CHAP. III. Which Things being done, when he saw not only the Country but the Cities likewise forsaken, by Reason of the long Continuance of the War; he sought out first all the Sicilians which he could, and then sent for Planters from Corinth, because Syracuse had been built at first by them. He

restored

ditæ. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones divisit; urbium mœnia disiecta, fanaque deleta refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium toti insulæ conciliavit, ut his conditor urbium earum, non illi qui initio deduxerant, videretur. Arcem Syracusis, quam muniverat Dionysius, ad urbem obsidendam, a fundamentis disjecit; cætera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est, deditque operam, ut quàm minimè multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Quum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem haberet amorem omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante regnum obtineret; maluit se diligi, quàm metui. Itaque, quum primum potuit, imperium deposuit, & privatus Syracusis quod reliquum vitæ fuit, vixit. Neque verò id imperitè fecit; nam quod cæteri reges imperio vix potuerunt, hic benevolentia tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit; neque postea Syracusis res ulla gesta est publica, de quâ prius sit decretum, quàm Timoleonis sententia cognita. Nullius unquam consilium non modò antelatum, sed ne comparatum quidem est: neque id magis benevolentia factum est, quàm prudentia.

restored to the old Inhabitants their own, and divided the Possessions that were made void of Owners by the War, to the new ones; he repaired the Walls of Cities that had been thrown down, and Temples that had been destroyed; he restored to the Cities their Laws and Liberty, and procured so much Quiet to the whole Island after a very great War, that he seemed to be the Founder of the Cities, and not those who at first had brought the Colonies thither. He demolished to the Foundations the Citadel at Syracuse, which Dionysius had built to awe the City; he pulled down the other Bulwarks of the Tyranny, and did his Endeavour, that as few Marks as possible of the former Servitude should remain. Though he was in so great Power, that he might have ruled over them, tho' against their Wills, and had so much the Love of all the Sicilians, that he might have had the Sovereignty, no-body refusing him, he chose rather to be beloved than feared. Therefore, as soon as he could, he laid down his Commission, and lived a private Person at Syracuse the remaining Part of his Life. Nor did he do that weakly; for what other Kings could scarcely do by their Power, he carried by the good Will of the People: He wanted no Honour; nor was any publick Thing done after at Syracuse, concerning which a Decree was made, before the Opinion of Timoleon was known. Not only no Man's Counsel was ever preferred before his, but not indeed compared with it:

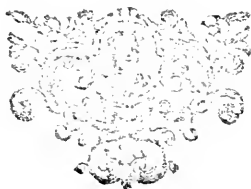
Nor was that occasioned more by their good Will for him, than his Prudence.

CAP. IV. Hic quum ætate jam provecta esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum amisit: quum calamitatem ita moderatè tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audiret, neque eo minus privatis publicisque rebus interesset: veniebat autem in theatrum, quum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus jumentis junctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quæ videbantur, dicebat. Neque hoc illi quicquam tribuebat superbæ; nihil enim unquam neque insolens, neque gloriosum ex ore ejus exiit: qui quidem, quum satis laudis audiret prædici, nunquam aliud dixit, quàm se in cæ re maximas dñs gratias: re atque habere, quod quum Siciliam recreare constituisset, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluisset. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Itaque fore domi facellam *ἀντροπιῶνος* constituerat, idque sanctissimè colebat. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserunt casus: nam prælia maxima natali die suo fecit omnia; quo factum est, ut ejusdem natale festum haberet universa Sicilia. Huic quidam Lamelius, homo petulans & ingratus, vadimonium quum vellet imponere, quod cum illo

CHAP. IV. *When he was advanced in Age, he lost the Sight of his Eyes without any Distemper to occasion it; which Misfortune he bore so meekly, that neither any one heard him complain, neither was he less engaged in private and public Business: But he came into the Theatre, when any Assembly of the People was held there, riding in a Chariot because of his Blindness, and so spoke from the Chariot what seemed proper. Nor did any one impute this to his Pride; for nothing ever, either insolent or boasting, came out of his Mouth: Who truly, when he heard his own Praises celebrated, never said any Thing else, than that in that Case he gave very great Thanks to the immortal Gods, that since they had resolved to put Sicily again into a good Condition, they had thought fit, that he, above all others, should be the Conductor of that Affair. For he thought that nothing of human Affairs was transacted without the Providence of the Gods. Wherefore he had built a Temple of Fortune in his own House, and frequented it most religiously. To this excellent Goodness of the Man, wonderful Accidents were superadded: For he fought all his greatest Battles upon his Birth-Day; whereby it came to pass that all Sicily kept his Birth-Day as a Festival. When one Lamelius, a saucy ungrateful Fellow, would needs*

Illo se lege agere diceret; & complures concurrissent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coercere conarentur; Timoleon oravit omnes, Ne id facerent; namque, id ut Lamestio cæterisque liceret, se maximos labores summaque adfuisse pericula: hanc enim speciem libertatis esse, si omnibus, quod quisque veller, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, quum quidam Lamestii similis, nomine Demænetus, in concione, populi de rebus gestis ejus detrabere cœpisset, ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta; dixit, Nunc, demum se voti esse damnatum; namque hoc à diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restituerent Syracusanis, in quâ cuivis liceret, de quo veller, impunè dicere. Hic quum diem supremum obiisset, publicè à Syracusanis in gymnasio, quod Timoleonteum appellatur, totâ celebrante Sicilia, sepultus est.

needs put Bail upon him, because he said he would go to Law with him, and several People gathered about him, who undertook to correct the Sauciness of the Fellow by Blows: Timoleon begged of them all, that they would not do it; for that he had undergone the greatest Fatigues and Hazards, that that might be lawful for Lamestius and others; for this was a visible Appearance of Freedom, if it was allowed all People to try at Law what every one pleased. The same Man, when one like Lamestius, by Name Demænetus, had begun to detract from his Actions in an Assembly of the People, and inveighed somewhat against Timoleon; he said, Thou now he had his Wish; for he had always begged this of the immortal Gods, that they would restore such Freedom to the Syracusans, in which it might be allowed any one to speak his Mind with Impunity, of whom he would. When he died, he was buried at the publick Expence by the Syracusans, in the Gymnasium, which is called Timoleonteum, all Saily celebrating his Funeral.





XXI.

De REGIBUS.

CAP. I.

I ferè fuerunt
 H Græciæ gentis du-
 ces, qui memo-
 riâ digni videan-
 tur, præter reges:
 namque eos attingere nolui-
 mus, quòd omnium res gestæ
 separatim sunt relatæ: ne-
 que tamen hi admodum sunt
 multi. Lacedæmonius au-
 tem Agesilaus nomine, non
 potestate, fuit rex, sicut cæ-
 teri Spartani. Ex his verò,
 qui dominatum imperio te-
 nuerunt excellentissimi fue-
 runt, (ut nos judicamus)
 Persarum Cyrus, & Darius
 Hystaspis filius; quorum
 uterque privatus virtute reg-
 num est adeptus. Prior ho-
 rum apud Massagetæ in præ-
 lio cecidit: Darius senectute
 diem obiit supremum. Ties
 sunt præterea ejusdem gene-
 ris, Xerxes, & duo Artaxer-
 zes, Macrochir & Mnemon.
 Xerxi maximè est illastre,
 quod maximis post hominum
 memoriam exercitibus terrâ
 mariq; bellum intulit Græciæ.

At

XXI.

Of K I N G S.

CHAP. I.

These were nearly all
 the Generals of Greece,
 that seem worthy of
 Remembrance, besides
 the Kings; for we
 would not meddle with them, be-
 cause the Actions of them all are
 separately related; neither yet are
 these very many. But the Lace-
 demonian Agesilaus was a King in
 Name, not in Power, as the rest
 of the Spartan Kings. But of those
 who held the Government with an
 absolute Sway, the most excellent
 were (as we judge) Cyrus King of
 the Persians, and Darius the Son
 of Hystaspes; both of which, being
 private Persons, got the Kingdom
 by their good Behaviour. The for-
 mer of these fell in Battle amongst
 the Massagetæ. Darius died in
 old Age. There are three besides
 of the same Nation, Xerxes, and
 the two Artaxerxes, Macrochir,
 and Mnemon. The most illust-
 rious Thing of Xerxes is, that
 he made War upon Greece by
 Land and Sea, with the greatest
 Armies that have been known
 since we have had any History of
 Mankind,

At Macrochir præcipuam habet laudem amplissimæ pulcherrimæque corporis formæ: quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Persarum nemo fuit manu fortior. Mnemon autem iustitiae famâ floruit. Nam quum matris suæ scelere amisisset uxorem tantum indulsit dolori ut eum pietas vincebat. Ex his, duo eodem nomine morbo naturæ debitum reddiderunt: Tertius ab Artabano præfecto ferro interfectus est.

CAP. II. Ex Macedonum autem genere, duo multo cæteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloriâ; Philippus Amyntæ filius, & Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo consumptus est: Philippus Ægis à Pausaniâ, quum spectatum ludos iuxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is quum Argos oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior: nam & manu fortis & belli peritus fuit: &, id quod in tyranno non facillè reperitur, minimè libidinosus, non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius rei denique cupidus, immo singularis perpetuæque imperii, ob eamque rem crudelis:

Mankind. But Macrochir has a mighty Commendation in Story, for the large and most comely Make of his Person, which he adorned with an incredible Bravery and Conduct in War; for none of the Persons were more stout in Action than he. But Mnemon flourished in Reputation for Justice. For after he had lost his Wife by the wicked Concubinance of his Mother, he so far indulged his Sorrow, that his Duty to his Mother overcame it. Of these the Two of the same Name paid their Debt to Nature by a Disease: The Third was slain with the Sword by Artabanas, a Governor of his.

CHAP. II. But, of the Nation of the Macedonians, Two much excelled the rest in the Glory of their Exploits; Philip the Son of Amyntas, and Alexander the Great. One of these was taken off by a Distemper at Babylon; Philip was slain at Ægæ by Pausanias, as he was going to see the publick Games nigh the Theatre. There was one of Epiro, Pyrrhus, who made War with the Roman People. He died of a Stroke with a Stone, when he was attacking the Town of Argos in Peloponnesus. There was one likewise of Sicily, Dionysius the First; for he was both brave in Action, and skillful in War; and, what is not easily found in a Tyrant, he was not at all selfish, not luxurious, not covetous, finally, very desirous of nothing but of arbitrary Power

crudelis: Nam dum id studuit munire, nullius pepercit vitæ quem ejus insidiatorem putaret. Hic, quum virtute tyrannidem sibi peperisset, magnâ retinuit felicitate, majorque annos sexaginta natus, decessit florente regno: neque, in tam multis annis, cujusquam ex suâ stirpe funus vidit, quum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreâset, multique ei nati essent nepotes.

CAP. III. Fuerunt præterea multi reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui, post obitum ejus, imperia ceperunt: In his, Antigonus, & hujus filius Demetrius, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemæus. Ex his Antigonus, quum adversus Seleucum Lyfimachumque dimicaret, in prælio occisus est. Pari letho affectus est Lyfimachus à Seleuco: nam societate dissolutâ, bellum inter se gesserunt. At Demetrius, quum filiam suam Seleuco in matrimonium dedisset, neque eò magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuisset, captus bello, in custodiâ socer generi periiit morbo: neque ita multo post, Seleucus à Ptolemæo Cerauno dolo interfectus est; quem, ille, à patre expulsum Alexandriâ alienarum opum indigentem, receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemæus, quum, vivus, filio regnum tradidisset, ab

Power and for Life, and for that Reason cruel: For whilst he endeavoured to secure that, he spared no Man's Life, whom he thought to be in a Plot against it. He, after he had got the Government by his able Management, kept it with great good Fortune; and died above sixty Years of Age, in a flourishing Kingdom: nor, in so many Years, did he see the Funeral of any of his Issue, tho' he had Children by three Wives, and had many Grandsons born to him.

CHAP. III. There were besides many Kings of the Friends of Alexander the Great, who, after his Death, seized the Government: Amongst these, Antigonus and his Son Demetrius, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. Of these, Antigonus was slain in a Battle, when he fought against Seleucus and Lyfimachus. Lyfimachus was taken off with the like Death, by Seleucus: For, upon a Breach of the Alliance they carried on a War together. But Demetrius, after he had given his Daughter to Seleucus in Marriage, and the Alliance betwixt them was never the more faithfully observed for that; the Father-in-law, being taken in War, died in Custody of his Son-in-law; and not long after, Seleucus was treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus; whom, when driven by his own Father out of Alexandria, and in need of others Relief, he had entertained. But Ptolemy having delivered,

Ab illo eodem vitâ privatus dicitur. De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur, non præterire Hamilcarem & Hannibalem; quos & animi magnitudine, & calliditate, omnes in Africâ natos præstitisse constat.

livered, whilst living, his Kingdom to his Son, is said to have been deprived of his Life by that same Son. Concerning whom because we think enough has been said, it does not seem improper, not to pass by Hamilcar and Hannibal; who, it is certain, did excel all that were born in Africa, both in Greatness of Mind, and Subtilty.





XXII.

HAMILCAR.

CAP. I.

Amilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barchas, Carthaginiensis, primo Punico bello, sed temporibus extremis, admodum adoleſcentulus, in Siciliâ præſeſſe cepit exercitui. Quum ante ejus adventum, & mari & terrâ malè res gererentur Carthaginiensium; ipſe ubi aſſuit, nunquam hoſti coeſit, neque locum nocendi dedit; ſapeque, è contrario, hoſtem occasione datâ laceſſivit, ſemperque ſuperior diſceſſit. Quo factò quum penè omnia in Siciliâ Poeni amiſſent, ille Lycem ſic defendit, ut bellum eo loco geſtum non videretur. Interim, Carthaginienſes claſſe apud inſulas Ægates à C. Luſtatio Conſule Romano- rum ſuperati, ſtatuerunt belli finem facere, eamque rem arbitrio permiſerunt Hamilcaris. Ille eſſi flagrabat belli cupiditate, tamen paci ſerviendum putavit, quòd patriam ex- hauſtam ſumptibus, diutius calamitatem belli ferre non poſſe intelligebat; ſed ita ut ſtatim

XXII.

HAMILCAR.

CHAP. I.

Amilcar, the Son of Hannibal, by Sur- name Barchas, the Carthaginian, began, when very young, to command an Army in Sicily, in the ſecond Carthaginian War, but about the latter End of it. And when before his coming there, the Affairs of the Carthagini- ans were ill managed, both by Sea and by Land; when he came there, he never ſuſtained before the Enemy, nor gave them any Opportunity of hurting him; and oftentimes, on the contrary, when an Opportunity offered, he attacked the Enemy, and always came off ſuperior. Upon which, tho' the Carthaginians had almoſt loſt all in Sicily, he ſo defended Lyx, that the War did not ſeem to have been carried on at all in that Place. In the mean Time, the Carthaginians being routed by Sea, at the Iſlands called Ægates, by Caius Luſtattius the Conſul of the Romans, reſolved to make an End of the War, and left that Matter to the Diſcretion of Hamilcar. He, altho' he burnt with Deſire of carrying on the War, yet thought it neceſ- ſary

statim mente agitaret, si paulo modo res essent reſectæ, bellum renovare, Romanosque armis perſequi, donec aut virtute vicſſent, aut victi manum dediffent. Hoc confilio pacem conciliavit; in quâ tanta fuit ſeroeia, ut quum Catullus negaret ſe bellum compoſiturum, niſi ille cum ſuis qui Erycem tenuerant, armis relictis Sicilia decederent; ſuccumbente patriâ, ipſe periturum ſe potius dixerit, quàm cum tanto ſlagitio domum rediret; non enim ſuæ eſſe virtutis, anima à patriâ accepta adverſus hoſtes, adverſaris tradere. Huius pertinaciæ geſſit Catullus.

fary to endeavour after Peace, becauſe he was ſingle, that his Country, being exhauſted by the Charges of the War, was not able to bear the Diſtreſs of it any longer; but ſo, that he immediately purpoſed in his Mind, if their Affairs ſhould be but a little recruited, to renew the War, and to fall upon the Romans with Arms, till either they conquered by their Falſur, or, being conquered, gave up the Cauſe. With this Deſign he made a Peace, in which ſo great was his Reſolution, that when Catullus denied that he would agree upon ending the War, unleſs he with his Men, that held Eryx, quitting their Arms, left Sicily; tho' his Country was ſinking, he ſaid, he would periſh rather than return Home, with ſo great a Scandal; for it was not ſuitable to his Conduet, to deliver up his Arms, received from his Country againſt its Enemies, to his Adverſaries. Catullus yielded to his Reſolution.

CAP. II. At ille, ut Carthaginem venit, multo aliter, ac ſperabat, rempublicam ſe habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exaſcit inſeſſinum bellum, ut nunquam pari in periculo fuerit Carthago, niſi quum deleta eſt. Primò, mercenarii milites, qui adverſus Romanos fuerunt, deſceſerunt, quorum numerus erat viginti millium: Hi totam abalienarunt Africam, ipſam Carthaginem oppugnarunt.

Quibus

• CHAP. II. But he, as ſoon as he came to Carthage, found the Commonwealth to be quite otherwiſe than he expected. For ſo great a Civil War had broken out, occaſioned by the long Continuance of the Foreign War, that Carthage was never in the like Danger, but when it was deſtroyed. Firſt of all, the Foreign Soldiers in their Pay, who had been employed againſt the Romans, revolted, whoſe Number was twenty Thouſand: Theſe drew along with them all Africa,

and

Quibus malis adeo sunt Poeni
 pesterriti, ut auxilia etiam à
 Romanis petiverint, eaque
 impetrarint. Sed extremo,
 quum propè jam ad despera-
 tionem pervenissent, Hamil-
 carem imperatorem fecerunt:
 Is non solum hostes à muris
 Carthaginiis removit, quam
 amplius centum millia facta
 essent armatorum; sed etiam
 eò compulit, ut locorum an-
 gustiis clausi, plures fame,
 quam ferro, interirent. Om-
 nia oppida abalienata, in his
 Uticam atque Hipponem, va-
 lentissima totius Africæ, re-
 stituit patriæ. Neque eo fuit
 contentus, sed etiam fines
 imperii propagavit; totà A-
 fricà tantum otium reddidit,
 ut nullum in eà bellum vide-
 retur multis annis fuisse.

CAP. III. Rebus his ex-
 sententiâ peractis, fidenti ani-
 mo, atque infesto Romanis,
 quò facilius causam bellandi
 reperiret, effecit, ut impera-
 tor cum exercitu in Hispani-
 am mitteretur; eoque secum
 duxit filium Hannibalem, an-
 norum novem. Erat præ-
 terea cum eo adolescens il-
 lustris & formosus, Hasdru-
 bal, quem nonnulli diligi tur-
 pius, quam par erat, ab Ha-
 milcare loquebantur; non
 enim maledici tanto viro de-
 esse poterant. Quò factum est,
 ut à præfecto morum Hasdru-
 bal

and attacked Carthage itself.
 With which Misfortune the Car-
 thaginians were so terrified, that
 they begged Assistance even from
 the Romans and obtained it. But
 at last, when they were come now
 almost to Despair, they made Ha-
 milcar their General: He not
 only drove the Enemies from the
 Walls of Carthage, though they
 were become above an hundred
 thousand armed Men; but like-
 wise reduced them to that, that
 being inclosed within a narrow
 Place, more of them died by Fa-
 mine than by the Sword. He re-
 stored all the revolted Towns, and
 amongst these Utica and Hippo,
 the strongest of all Africa, to his
 Country. Nor was he content
 with that, but he likewise extended
 the Bounds of their Empire; and
 restored such a Peace throughout
 all Africa, that there seemed not
 to have been any War in it for
 many Years.

CHAP. III. These Things being
 performed according to his Wish,
 with a Mind full of Expectations,
 and incensed against the Romans,
 that he might the more easily find
 out a Pretence for making War, he
 contrived to be sent General with
 an Army into Spain; and thither
 he carried along with him his
 Son Hannibal, nine Years old.
 There was besides with him an
 illustrious and beautiful Youth,
 Hasdrubal, who, some said, was
 beloved more scandalously than
 was fitting, by Hamilcar: for
 Backbiters could not be wanting
 to so great a Man; from whence

bal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quòd moribus eorum non poterat interdici focero gener. De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quod, Hamilcare occiso, ille exercitui præsuit, relique magnas gessit: & princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores Carthaginensium; ejusdemque post mortem, Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit, in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secundâ gessit fortunâ; maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit: equis, armis, viris, pecuniâ, totam locupletavit Africam. Hic quum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in prælio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Hujus perpetuum odium erga Romanos maximè concitasse videtur secundum bellum Punicum: namque Hannibal, filius ejus, assiduus patris obstinationibus eò est perductus, ut interire, quàm non Romanos experiri mallet.

it was, that Hofferbal was forbid to be with him, by the Overseer of the Public Almsmen. He gave him his Daughter in Marriage, because according to their Customs, a Son-in-law could not be discharged the Company of his Father-in-law. We have therefore made mention of him, because, when Hamilcar was slain, he commanded the Army, and performed great Things: But first of all corrupted the ancient Manners of the Carthaginians, by his distributing Money to the Troops: and after his Death, Hannibal received the Command from the Army. But Hamilcar, after he passed the Sea and was come into Spain, performed great Things with good Success: He subdued very great and mighty warlike Nations: He enriched all Africa with Horses, Arms, Men, and Money. While he was intending to carry the War into Italy, he was slain fighting in a Battle against the Vettons, in the sixth Year after he came into Spain. His constant Hatred of the Romans seems chiefly to have raised the second Carthaginian War: For Hannibal his Son was brought to that by the perpetual Influences of his Father, that he chose rather to perish than not to make Trial of the Romans.



XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

CAP. I.

Annibal, Hamil-
 H cais filius, Car-
 thaginensis. Si ve-
 rum est, quod ne-
 mo dubitat, ut
 populus Romanus omnes
 gentes virtute superavit, non
 est inficiandum, Hannibalem
 tanto præstulisse ceteros im-
 peratores prudentiâ, quam
 populus Romanus antecedit
 fortitudine cunctas nationes:
 Nam quotiescunque cum eo
 congressus est in Italiâ, sem-
 per discessit superior. Quod
 nisi domi civium suorum in-
 vidia debilitatus esset, Ro-
 manos videtur superare po-
 tuisse. Sed multorum ob-
 trectatio devicit unius vir-
 tutem. Hic autem, velut
 hæreditate relictum, odium
 paternum erga Romanos sic
 con-

XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

CHAP. I.

Annibal, the Son of
 H Hamilcar, the Car-
 thaginian. If it be
 true, which nobody
 doubts, * that the Ro-
 man People have excelled all Na-
 tions in Bravery and Conduct,
 it is not to be denied, that Han-
 nibal as much exceeded other Com-
 manders in Prudence, as the Ro-
 man People exceed all Nations
 in Valour: † For as oft as he en-
 gaged with them in Italy, he
 always came off superior. And
 unless he had been weakened by the
 Envy of his Countrymen at Home,
 he seems to have been capable of
 conquering the Romans. But the
 Detraction of many prevailed
 against the great Abilities of
 one. He so firmly fixed in his
 Mind his Father's Hatred of the
 Romans, left him, as it were, by
 Inheri-

* Our Author has here expressed himself after a very unusual Manner, if the Reading be good. When a Sentence, that is a positive Affirmation or Negation, is the Subject or Object of a Verb, *i. e.* answers the Question, What? before or after it, the Accusative Case and Infinitive Mood are commonly used; but sometimes, though very rarely, *quod* with the Nominative, and Indicative, or Subjunctive. There are some of Opinion, that *quod* and *ut* have in this Period changed Places, and that we ought to read thus: *Si verum est, ut nemo dubitat quod.*

† I wonder our Author should affirm a Thing so notoriously false, as is plain from all other Accounts. See *Livy* and *Plutarch*.

confirmavit ut prius animam, quàm id deposuerit: qui quidem quum patriâ pulsus esset, & alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam destiteret animo bellare cum Romanis.

Inheritance, that he laid down his Life before that: Who, even when he was banished his Country, and stood in need of other People's Relief, never ceased in his Mind to make War with the Romans.

CAP. II. Nàm, ut omit-
tam Philippum, quem ab-
sens hostem reddidit Ro-
manis; omnium his tempo-
ribus potentissimus rex An-
tiochus fuit.† Hunc tantâ
cupiditate incendit bellandi,
ut usque à rubro mari arma
conatus sit inferre Italiæ:
Ad quem quum legati ve-
nissent Romani, qui de ejus
voluntate explorarent, da-
rentque operam consiliis
clandestinis, ut Hannibalem
in suspicionem regi adduce-
rent, tanquam, ab ipsis cor-
ruptum alia atque antea
sentiret; neque id frustra
fecissent: idque Hannibal
comperisset, seque ab inte-
rioribus consiliis segregari
vidisset: tempore dato, adiit
ad regem, atq; quum multa
de fide suâ, & odio in Roma-
nos commemorâset, hoc ad-
junxit: Pater (inquit) meus
*Hamilcar, puerulo me utpote non
amplius novem annos nato, in
Hispaniam imperator proficis-
cens, Carthagine Jovi Optimo
Maximo hostias immolavit; quæ
divina res cùm conficiebatur,
quaesivit à me, Velleme secum
in*

CHAP. II. *For to say nothing
of Philip, whom, though at a
Distance from him, he made an
Enemy to the Romans; Antiochus
was the most powerful Prince of
all in those Times.† He fired him
with so strong a Passion for making
War, that he endeavoured to bring
his Arms upon Italy, even as far
as from the Red Sea: To whom
when the Roman Ambassadors were
come to make a Discovery of his In-
tention, and did their Endeavour,
by clandestine Contrivances, to bring
Hannibal in Suspicion with the
King, as if, being bribed by them,
he had other Sentiments than for-
merly; and had not done that in
vain; and Hannibal perceived it,
and saw that he was secluded from
his secret Counsels: an Opportunity
being given him, he went to the
King; and after he had said much
to him, about his Faithfulness to
him, and his Hatred of the Ro-
mans, he added this: My Father
Hamilcar, says he, when I was a
little Boy, as being no more than
nine Years old, going General
into Spain, offered Sacrifices at
Carthage to Jupiter the * Best
and the Greatest; whist this
divine Worship was perform-
ing,*

C c

ing,

* These are Epithets frequently applied by Heathen Authors to their God Jupiter.

in castra proficisci? Il quum libenter accepissem, atque ab eo petere coepissem. Ne dubitaret ducere; tum ille, Faciam, inquit, si filem mihi, quem postule, dederis. Simulque ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat; eamque, cæteris remotis, tenentem, jurare iussit, Nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. Il ego iurandum patri datum, usque ad hanc diem ita conservavi, ut non mihi dubium esse debeat, quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus. Quare, si quid animo de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter faceris, si me celaris: quoniam qui cum bellum parabis, te ipsam frustraberis, si non me in eo principem sequeris.

CAP. III. Hæc igitur ætate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est. Cujus post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore successore, equitatus omni præfuit. Hoc quoque interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum devoluit: id Carthaginem delatum, publicè comprobatum est. Sic Hannibal minor quinque & viginti annis natus, imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniæ bello subegit. Saguntum fœderatam civitatem vi expugnavit:

ing, he enquired of me, if I would go along with him to the Camp? As I willingly accepted of that, and began to beg of him, that he would not scruple to carry me; upon that he says, I will do it, if you will give me the Promise which I demand of you. And at the same Time he brought me to the Altar at which he had begun to sacrifice; and commanded me, the rest being ordered away, holding that, to swear, That I would never be at Friendship with the Romans. I have kept that Oath sworn to my Father, till this Day, that it ought to be a Doubt with nobody, but that I shall be of the same Mind for the Time to come. Wherefore if you design any thing friendly as to the Romans, you will not do unwisely, if you conceal it from me; but if, indeed, you will prepare for War, you will deceive yourself, if you do not place me the foremost in that Affair.

CHAP. III. *Wherefore he went at this Age with his Father into Spain. After whose Death Hasdrubal being put in his Room as General, he commanded all the Horse. He too being slain, the Army gave the chief Command to him; which, being carried to Carthage, was approved of by the Government. Thus Hannibal, being made General when less than five and twenty Years old, in the following three Years subdued all the Nations of Spain in War. He took by Force Saguntum, a City in Alliance with the Romans:*
He

vit: tres exercitus maximos comparavit: ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispaniâ reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit: saltum Pyrenæum transiit: quâcunque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit: neminem nisi victum dimisit. Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quæ Italiam ab Galliâ sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum, præter Herculem Graium, transierat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur; Alpicos conantes prohibere transitum concidit; loca præfecit, itinera muniit, effecitque, ut eâ elephantus oneratus ire posset, quâ antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hæc copias traduxit, in Italiamque peruenit.

*He raised three very great Armies: He sent one of these into Africa; another he left with Hasdrubal his Brother in Spain; the third he led along with him into Italy. He passed the * Pyrenean Forest; wherefore he made his March he engaged with all the Inhabitants of the Country; he sent none away any otherwise than conquered. After he came to the Alps, which divide Italy from Gaul, which nobody had passed with an Army before him, besides Hercules the Grecian, from which Fact that Forest is called at this Day the Grecian Forest; he cut to Pieces the Alpians, endeavouring to hinder his Passage; he opened the Places, made Roads, and brought it to pass, that a loaded Elephant might go, where before a single Man unarmed could scarcely creep. Thus He drew over his Troops, and came into Italy.*

CAP. IV. Confluxerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule, eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem de Clastidio, apud Padum decernit, faucium inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio, idem

CHAP. IV. He had engaged at the † Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio the Consul, and had defeated him. He engages with the same near the Po, not far from Clastidium; he sends him away from thence wounded and routed. C c 2 The

* The Pyrenean Saltus is a great Ridge of Mountains betwixt France and Spain, reaching from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean. Our Author calls it by the Name of Saltus, because it was then almost wholly covered with Wood.

† Our Author was, in all likelihood, mistaken here; for Livy, a much better Writer in all Respects, gives a different Account, *i. e.* that Scipio designed to have engaged him; but finding Hannibal gone from his Camp, altered his Intention, and put his Men on board his Ships, to come to Italy.

idem Scipio, cum collegâ Tiberio Longo, ad Trebiam, adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conferuit, utrumque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum tranſiit, petens Hetruriam. Hoc itinere ad eò gravi morbo afficitur oculorum, ut poſtea nunquam dextro æquè bene uſus ſit. Quâ valetudine quum etiam premeretur, lecticâque ferretur, C. Flaminium conſulem apud Traſimenum cum exercitu inſidiis circumventum, occidit: neque multò poſt C. Centenium prætorem, cum delectâ manu ſaltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit: ibi obviam ei venerunt duo conſules, C. Terentius Varro, & Paulus Æmilius: Utriuſque exercitus uno prælio fugavit: L. Paulum conſulem occidit, & aliquot præterea conſulares; in his Cn. Servilium Geminum, qui anno ſuperiore fuerat conſul.

*The ſame Scipio, with his Colleague Tiberius Longus, came againſt him a third Time, * at Trebia. He engaged them, and defeated them both. After that he paſſed the † Appenine Mountain through the Country of the ‡ Ligurians, marching for § Etruria. In this March he was afflicted with ſuch a violent Diſtemper in his Eyes, that he never had the Uſe of his Right Eye ſo well after: With which Malady tho' he was then troubled, and carried in a Chair, he killed C. Flaminius the Conſul, at the ** Traſimene Lake, trepanned with his Army by an Ambuſh: and not long after C. Centenius the Pretor, ſeizing upon the Foreſts with a choice Body of Troops. After that he came into †† Apulia. There the two Conſuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Paulus Emilius, met him: He routed both their Armies in one Battle: He ſlew L. Paulus the Conſul, and ſome conſular Gentlemen beſides; amongst theſe Cn. Servilius Geminus, who had been Conſul the Year before.*

CAP. V. Hâc pugnâ pugnatâ Romam profectus eſt, nullo reſiſtente. In propinquis urbis montibus moratus

CHAP. V. *After this Battle was fought he marched to Rome, nobody reſiſting him. He made a Halt in the Mountains, nigh the City.*

* A River falling into the Po on the South Side.

† The Appenine is a Mountain that runs quite through the Middle of Italy.

‡ The Ligurians were a People of Italy, bordering on France, betwixt the Sea and the Po.

§ Etruria is a Country below Liguria in Italy.

** The Traſimene Lake is in Etruria.

†† A Country in the South Part of Italy.

tus est. Quum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset, & reverteretur Capuam, C. Fabius Maximus, Dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se objecit. Hinc, clausus locorum angustiis, noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitus se expedivit. Fabio callidissimo imperatori dedit verba: Namque obdura nocte, sarmenta in cornibus jumentorum deligata incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispersatam immisit. Quo repentino objectu viso, tantum terrorem injecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. Hanc post rem gestam, non ita multis diebus, M. Minutium Rufum magistrum equitum, pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo perductum in praelio fugavit. T. Sempronium Gracchum, item consullem, in Lucanis absens, in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies consullem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit. Longum est enumerare praelia: Quare hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intelligi possit, quantus ille fuerit: Quamdiu in Italia fuit,

*City. When he had kept his Camp there for some Days, and was returning to * Capua, Q. Fabius Maximus, the Roman † Dictator, threw himself in his Way in the Territory of Falernum. Though inclosed in a narrow Place, he extricated himself thence in the Night-time, without any Diminution of his Army. He put a Trick upon the most crafty Commander Fabius: For after Night was come on, he set fire to some Twigs, tied upon the Horns of some Bulls, and sent up a vast Number of that Sort of Cattle scattered here and there. Which sudden Appearance being seen, it struck so great a Terror into the Army of the Romans, that none durst go without their Ramparts. Not many Days after this Exploit, he routed M. Minutius Rufus, Master of the Horse, invested with the same Power as the Dictator himself, being drawn to an Engagement by a Wife. He likewise took off Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a second Time Consul, in the Country of the Lucanians, being drawn into an Ambush: In like Manner he cut off M. Claudius Marcellus, a fifth Time Consul, at Venusia. It is too long to reckon up all the Battles: Wherefore this one Thing will be enough to be said, from whence*

* A very great City of Campania, a Country towards the Bottom of Italy.

† The Dictator was an extraordinary Officer, nominated in Times of Danger, and invested with great Power, almost absolute, but confined within the Space of Six Months. He had an Officer under him, called Master of the Horse, because in the Day of Battle he commanded the Horse, as the Dictator did the Foot.

fuit, nemo ei in acie resistit: nemo adversus eum, post Cannensem pugnam, in campo castra posuit.

it may be understood, how great a Man he was: So long as he was in Italy, nobody could stand before him in the Field: Nobody, after the Battle of Cannæ, pitched his Camp in the Plain against him.

CAP. VI. Hic invidus patriam defensum revocatus, bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionis filium, quem ipse primum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugaverat. Cum hoc, exhaustis jam patriæ facultatibus, cupivit impræsentiarum bellum componere, quò valentior postea congredetur. In colloquium convenit; conditiones non convenerunt. Post id factum, paucis diebus, apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit: pulsus (incredibile dictu!) biduo & duabus noctibus Adrumetum pervenit, quod abest à Zamâ circiter millia passuum trecenta. In hac fugâ, Numidæ, qui simul cum eo acie excesterant, insidiati sunt ei: quos non solum effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit; Adrumeti reliquos ex fugâ collegit; novis delectibus, paucis diebus, multos contraxit.

CHAP. VI. *This unconquered Man being called Home to defend his Country, carried on the War against the Son of that P. Scipio, whom he had routed first at the Rhone, again at the Po, and a third Time at Trebia. The Wealth of his Country being exhausted, he was desirous to make an End of the War by Treaty with him for that Time, that he might engage the Romans afterwards, when more able. He came to a Conference with him; the Articles were not agreed upon. A few Days after that Transaction he engaged with the same at * Zama; being routed, (it is incredible to be said!) in two Days and two Nights he came to † Adrumetum, which is about three hundred Miles distant from Zama. In this Flight, some Numidians, who had come out of the Battle with him, formed a Plot against him; whom he not only escaped, but likewise killed. At Adrumetum he picked up those that were left after the Flight; and by new Levies, in a few Days, raised a great many.*

CAP. VII. Quum in apparando acerrime esset occupatus

CHAP. VII. *Whilst he was mighty busy in making Preparations,*

* Zama was a Town of Africa, in Numidia Propria, South-West from Carthage.

† Adrumetum, a Town of Africa, in the Province of Byzacium upon the Sea, to the Eastward of Carthage.

cupatus, Carthagenſes bellum cum Romanis compoſuerunt. Ille, nihilo ſeciùs, exercitui poſtea præfuit, reſque in Africâ geſſit; itemque Mago frater ejus, uſque ad Publium Sulpicium & Caium Aurelium conſules. His enim magiſtratibus, legati Carthagenſes Romam venerunt, qui ſenatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quòd cum his pacem feciſſent, ob eamque rem coronâ aureâ eos donarent, ſimulque peterent, ut obſides eorum Fregellis eſſent, captivique redderentur. His ex ſenatuſconſulto reſponſum eſt, Munus eorum gratum acceptumque eſſe; obſides quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non remiſſuros, quòd Hannibalem, cujus opera ſuſceptum bellum foret, inimiciſſimum nomini Romano, & nunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent; itemque fratrem ejus Magonem. Hoc reſpoſiſſo Carthagenſes cognito, Hannibalem domum Magonemque revocârunt. Huc ut rediit, prætor factus eſt poſtquam rex fuerat, anno ſecundo & viceſimo. Ut enim Romæ conſules, ſic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magiſtratu pari

*tions, the Carthaginians ended the War by Treaty with the Romans. He, notwithstanding, afterwards commanded the Army, and performed ſeveral Actions in Africa; and likewise Mago his Brother, until P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius were Conſuls. For under theſe Magiſtrates, Carthaginian Ambaſſadors came to Rome to give Thanks to the Senate and People of Rome, becauſe they had made Peace with them, and to preſent them with a Golden Crown upon that Account; and at the ſame Time to requeſt, that their Hoſtages might be at * Fregella, and their Priſoners be reſtored. To theſe Anſwer was made by Order of the Senate, That their Preſent was grateful and acceptable; that the Hoſtages ſhould be in the Place they deſired; but that they would not ſend back the Priſoners, becauſe they had Hannibal, by whoſe Means the War had been occaſioned, a bitter Enemy to the Roman Name, even now with a Command at the Army; and likewise his Brother Mago. The Carthaginians, having heard this Anſwer, ſent for Hannibal and Mago home. He, as ſoon as he returned, † was made Priſtor, in the two and twentieth Year after he had been made King. For as Conſuls are made at Rome, ſo at Carthage every Year two Kings were made for a Year. In that Office*

* Fregellæ is a Town of Latium, or nigh the Borders of Campania, in Italy.

† A Sort of Lord Chief Juſtice, or Superintendant in their Courts of Jedicature.

pari diligentia se Hannibal præbuit, ac fuerat in bello: Namque effecit, ex novis vestigalibus non solum ut esset pecunia, quæ Romanis ex fœdere penderetur, sed etiam superesset, quæ in ætatio poneretur. Deinde anno post præuram, M. Claudio, Lucio Furio Coss. Romani legati Carthaginem venerunt; hos Hannibal sui exposcendi gratia millos ratus, priusquam his tenatus daretur, navem conscendit clam, atque in Syriam ad Antiochum prorogit. Hæc re palam factâ, Pœni naves duas, quæ eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt; bona ejus publicaverunt, domum à fundamentis disjecerunt; ipsum exulenti judicaverunt.

CAP. VIII. At Hannibal anno tertio postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio, Quinto Minutio Coss. cum quinque navibus Africam accessit, in sinibus Cyrenæorum, si fortè Carthaginenses ad bellum, Antiochi spe eductique, inducere possent; cui jam persuaserat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Pœni resciverunt, Magonem, eadem, qua fratrem absentem, pœnâ affecerunt, Illi, desperatis rebus, quum solissent naves, ac vela ventis de-

Office Hannibal behaved himself with the like Diligence, as he had done in the War: For he took care not only that there should be Money from the new Taxes, to be paid the Romans, according to the Treaty, but likewise that there should be an Overplus to be laid up in the Treasury. Then a Year after his Prætorship, when M. Claudius and L. Furius were Consuls, Roman Ambassadors came to Carthage; Hannibal supposing they were sent upon Account of demanding him, before an Audience of the Senate was given them, privately goes aboard a Ship, and fled into Syria to Antiochus. This Thing being made publick, the Carthaginians sent two Ships to seize him, if they could overtake him; they confiscated his Estate, they pulled down his House to the Foundations, and declared him an Exile.

CHAP. VIII. But Hannibal, in the third Year after he fled from Home, when L. Cornelius and Q. Minutius were Consuls, came with five Ships to Africa in the Country of the Cyreneans, if perhaps he might induce the Carthaginians to a War, through the Hope and Confidence of Antiochus's Support; whom he had now persuaded to go with his Armies into Italy. Hither he sent his Brother Mago. When the Carthaginians understood that, they punished Mago with the same Punishment as his absent Brother. Their Condition being desperate, after they had loosed their Ships, and

dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. ¶ De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita est; namque alii naufragio, alii à servis ipsius interfectum eum scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, si tam in agendo bello parere voluisset consiliis ejus, quàm in suspiciendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quàm Thermopylis de summâ imperii dimicasset: quem etiam multa stultè conari videbat, tamen nullâ deseruit in re. Præfuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syriâ jussus erat in Asiam ducere, hisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio mari conflixit; quo quum multitudine adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse, quo cornu rem gessit, fuit superior.

CAP. IX. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quò se conferret, consideraret. Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus, magno se fore periculo, nisi quid prævidisset, propter avaritiam Cretensium; magnam enim

*and given their Sails to the Winds, Hannibal came to Antiochus. There is a double Account given of Mago's Death; for some have left upon Record, that * he perished by Shipwreck; others, that he was slain by his Slaves. But Antiochus, if he would have obeyed his Advice, as well in carrying on the War, as he had resolved in undertaking it, would have fought nearer Tiber than Thermopylæ for the Empire of the World: Whom, tho' he saw enterprize many Things foolishly, yet he forsook in nothing. He commanded a few Ships, which he had been ordered to bring out of Syria into Asia, and with these he engaged against the Fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian Sea; in which Fight, tho' his Men were overpowered by the Numbers of their Enemies, he was however superior in that Wing in which he acted.*

CHAP. IX. After Antiochus was routed, fearing lest he should be given up, which without Doubt would have happened, if he had given them an Opportunity of inapping him, he came to † Crete to the Gortynians, that there he might consider whether he should betake himself. But this Man, the most cunning of all Men, saw that he should be in great Danger, unless

* There seems to be some Word wanting in the Text after *Naufragio*, such as *periisse* or *interiisse*; for *Naufragio interfectus* is, I take it, just as good Latin, as *killed by a Shipwreck*, is good English.

† A famous Island in the South Parts of the Egean Sea.

enim secum pecuniam portabat, de quâ sciebat exîsse famam. Itaque capit tale consilium; amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro & argento: has Gortyniis præsentibus deponit in templo Dianæ, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem ductis, statuas æneas, quas secum portabat, omnes suâ pecuniâ complet, easque in propatulo domi abjicit. Gortynii templum magnâ curâ custodiunt, non tam à cæteris quàm ab Hannibale; ne quid ille incipientibus his tolleret, secumque asportaret.

unless he took some Care, by Reason of the Covetousness of the Cretans; for he carried a great deal of Money with him, of which he knew a Rumour was got abroad. Wherefore he takes this Course; he fills several Pots with Lead, he covers the upper Parts with Gold and Silver: He deposits these, whilst the Gortynians were present, in the Temple of Diana, pretending he would entrust his Fortune to their Honesty. These being led into a Mistake, he fills all his brazen Statues, which he carried with him, with his Money, and throws them into an open Place at home. The Gortynians guard the Temple with great Care, not so much against others, as against Hannibal; lest he should take any Thing away without their Knowledge, and carry it off with him.

CAP. X. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Pœnus, illius Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit; apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam; neque aliud quicquam egit, quàm regem armavit, & excitavit adversus Romanos; quem quin videret domesticis rebus minùs esse robustum, conciliabat cæteros reges, adjungebatque bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus; bellumque

CHAP. X. Thus the Carthaginian, having saved his Money, and fooled all the Cretans, came to Prusias into * Pontus; with whom he was of the same Disposition as to Italy: Nor did he do any Thing else but arm the King, and animate him against the Romans; whom when he saw to be not at all strong in his own Circumstances, he brought over other Princes, and joined warlike Nations to him. Eumenes, King of † Pergamus, was at Difference with him, a very great Friend to the Romans; and a War was carried

* A Province of Asia Minor, lying upon the Euxine Sea.

† A City of Mysia Minor in Asia Minor.

lumque inter eos gerebatur & mari & terrâ, quò magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi; sed utroque Eumenes plùs valebat, propter Romanorum societatem; quem si removisset, faciliora sibi cætera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc interficiendum talenti inest rationem: classe paucis diebus erant decertaturi: superabatur navium multitudine: dolo erat pugnandum, quum par non esset armis. Imperavit quàm plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici; harum quum confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso quo facturus erat navale prælium, classiaricos convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant naveni, à cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id facile illos serpentum multitudine consecuturos; rex autem quâ nave veheretur, ut scirent, se facturum; quem si aut cepissent, aut interfecissent, magno his pollicetur id præmio fore.

ried on both sides both by Sea and Land; for which Reason Hannibal was the more desirous to have him taken off; but Eumenes prevailed every where by Virtue of the Alliance with the Romans; whom if he could but remove, he thought other Things would be more easy. He took this Method to kill him: They were to engage with their Fleet in a few Days; he was quite outdone in Number of Ships: He was therefore to fight with Subtlety, since he was not a Match for him in Arms. He ordered as many poisonous Serpents as possible to be got together alive, and to be put in earthen Pots; after he had made up a good Number of them, upon the Day whereon he was to fight this Battle by Sea, he calls his Fleet together, and orders them all to gather about the Ship of King Eumenes alone, to be content to defend themselves only against the rest; that they might easily do, by the great Number of Serpents; he would take Care they should know in what Ship the King sailed; whom if they either took or killed, he promises they should have a good Reward for it.

CAP. XI. Tali cohortatione militum factâ, classis ab utrisque in prælium deducitur; quarum acie constitutâ, priusquam signum pugnae daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret suis, quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium in scaphâ cum caduceo mittit.

CHAP. XI. Having made this Exhortation to his Soldiers, the Fleet is drawn out to a Battle by both Sides: The Line of Battle in each being formed, before the Signal of the Fight was given, Hannibal, that he might make known to his Men in what Place Eumenes was, sends a Letter-

tit. Qui, ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit, epistolam ostendens, se regem professus est quærere; statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat aliquid de pace esse scriptum. Tabellarius, ducis nave declarata suis, eodem unde ierat se recepit. At Eumenes, solutâ epistolâ, nihil in eâ reperit, nisi quod ad iridendum eum pertineret: cujus etsi causam mirabatur, neque reperiebatur, tamen prælium statim committere non dubitavit. Horum in concursu, Bithyni, Hannibalis præcepto, universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur; quorum vim quum rex sustinere non posset, fugâ salutem petiit; quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua præsidia se recepisset, quæ in proximo littore erant collocata. Reliquæ Pergamenæ naves quum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus supra mentionem fecimus, conjici cœpta sunt; quæ jacta, initiorisum pugnantibus excitârunt, neque, quare id fieret, poterat intelligi. Postquam naves completas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re perterriti, quum quid potissimum vitarent non viderent, puppes averterunt, seque ad sua castranautica retulerunt. Sic Hannibal

carrier in a Boat, with a * Staff of Peace; who, after he came to the Enemies Ships, shewing the Letter, told them he wanted the King; immediately he was brought to Eumenes, because nobody doubted, there was something written in it about Peace. The Letter-carrier, having thus discovered the King's Ship to his own Side, withdrew himself to the same Place from whence he had come. But Eumenes, having opened the Letter, found nothing in it but what tended to banter him: The Reason of which altho' he wondered at, nor was it discovered, yet he scrupled not immediately to join Battle. In their Fight, the Bithynians, by Order of Hannibal, all of them attacked the Ship of Eumenes; the Fury of whom when the King was not able to withstand, he sought his Security by Flight; which he would not have obtained, unless he had betaken himself within his Guards, which he had posted upon the neighbouring Shore. When the rest of the Pergamene Ships bore hard upon the Enemy, on a sudden the earthen Pots, of which we made mention above, began to be thrown amongst them; which, when cast at them, at first raised a Laugh amongst the Soldiers, nor could it be comprehended for what Reason it was done. After they saw the Ships filled with Serpents, being

* The Caduceus was a Staff with the Figure of two Serpents twisted about it, borne by Heralds and other Messengers sent to an Enemy to signify their coming in a peaceable Manner.

nibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit: neque tum solum, sed sæpe aliàs, pedestribus copiis pari prudentiâ pepulit adversarios.

ing affrighted at this new Thing, as they knew not what chiefly they should avoid, they turned their Ships, and betook themselves to their Sea Camp. Thus Hannibal, by this Contrivance, prevailed against the Arms of the Pergamenians: Nor did he do that then only, but often at other Times, he defeated the Enemy with his Land Forces with the like Conduct.

CAP. XII. Quæ dum in Asiâ geruntur, accidit casu, ut legati Prusæ Romæ apud L. Quintium Flaminium consulem cœnarent: atque ibi, de Hannibale mentione factâ, ex his unus diceret eum in Prusæ regno esse. Id postero die Flaminius senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui, Hannibale vivo, nunquam se sine insidijs futuros existimabant, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in his Flaminium, qui à rege peterent, ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet, sibi que ut dederet. His Prusias negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, id ne à se fieri postularent, quod adversus jus hospitii esset; ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent, locum ubi esset facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello, quod ei ab rege datum erat muneri; idque sic ædificaret, ut in omnibus partibus ædificii exitus haberet, semper verens ne usu veniret, quod accidit. Huc quum legati Romanorum venissent,

CHAP. XII. *Which Things whilst they are doing in Asia, it happened by Chance, that the Ambassadors of Prusias at Rome supped with L. Q. Flaminius, the Consul: And there Mention being made of Hannibal, one of them said, That he was in the Kingdom of Prusias. Flaminius, the Day after, carried that to the Senate. The Fathers of the Senate, who thought they should never be without Contrivances against them, so long as Hannibal was alive, sent Ambassadors into Bithynia, amongst these Flaminias, to desire of the King, that he would not keep their bitterest Enemy with him, and that he would surrender him up to them. Prusias durst not deny them; but he refused one Thing, and desired they would not expect that to be done by him, which was contrary to the Right of Hospitality; they might catch him, if they could, they would easily find the Place where he was. For Hannibal kept himself in one Place, in a Castle, which had been given him as a Present by the King; and*

nissent, ac multitudine domum ejus circumdedissent; puer ab janua prospiciens, Hannibali dixit plures præter consuetudinem armatos apparere; qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores ædificii circumiret, ac propere sibi renunciaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur: Puer quum celeriter quid esset renunciasset, omnesque exitus occupatos ostendisset; sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti, neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam; quam ne alieno arbitrio demitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum, venenum quod semper secum habere consueverat, sumsit.

and he had so built it, that it had Ways out on all Sides of the Building, fearing always lest that should come to pass, which fell out. When the Ambassadors of the Romans were come thither, and had beset the House with a good Number of Men, a Boy, looking out at a Gate, told Hannibal, that several armed Men appeared contrary to Custom; who ordered him to go round to all the Doors of the Castle, and bring him Word quickly, whether he was blocked up on all Sides in the same Manner: When the Boy quickly brought Word again how it was, and informed him, that all the Ways out were secured; he was sensible that was not accidentally done, but that he was aimed at, and that he ought to keep his Life no longer; which that he might not part with at another's Pleasure, mindful of his former noble Qualities, he took Poison, which he had been accustomed to carry always about him.

CAP. XII. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfectus laboribus, anno acquievit septuagesimo. Quibus consulis interierit, non convenit. Nam Atticus, M. Claudio Marcello, & Q. Labio Labcone Coss. mortuum, in Annali suo scriptum reliquit: Polybius, Emilio Paulo, & Cn. Bæbio Tamphilo: Sulpitius autem, P. Cornelio Cethego, & M. Bæbio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir,

CHAP. XIII. Thus this most gallant Man, after he had run through many and various Toils, rested in his seventieth Year. Under what Consuls he died, is not agreed; for Atticus has left it written in his Annal, that he died when M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Labius Labeo were Consuls. But Polybius says under L. Emilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. But Sulpitius says he died in the Time of P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Bælius

vir, tantisque bellis districtus, nonnihil temporis tribuit literis; namque aliquot ejus libri sunt Græco sermone confecti: in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volionis in Asiâ rebus gestis. Hujus bella gesta multi memoriæ prodiderunt: sed ex his duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt, simulque vixerunt, quamdiu fortuna passa est, Philænius & Sosilus Lacedæmonius. Atque hoc Sosilo Hannibal literarum Græcarum usus est doctore. Sed nunc tempus est hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quò facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint, possit judicari.

Bæbius Tamphilus. And this great Man, and so prodigiously taken up with the Prosecution of such great Wars, employed some Part of his Time in Letters; for there are some Books of his written in the Greek Tongue: Amongst these one to the Rhodians concerning the Actions of Cn. Manlius Volso in Asia. Many have transmitted to Memory his Wars which were carried on by him. But two of them were such, who were with him in the Camp, and lived with him as long as his Circumstances allowed it, Philænius and Sosilus the Lacedæmonian. And Hannibal made use of this Sosilus, as his Instructor in the Greek Tongue. But now it is Time to make an End of this Book, and to relate the Lives of the Roman Commanders, that by comparing the Actions of both, it may be the more easily discerned which Men are to have the Preference.





XXIV.

XXIV.

M. PORCIUS CATO. M. PORCIUS CATO.

EX LIBRO SECUNDO

Out of the SECOND BOOK of

CORNELII NEPOTIS. CORNELIUS NEPOS.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

C A T O ortus municipio Tusculo, adolescentulus, priusquam honoribus operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quod ibi hæredium à patre relictum habebat. Hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censurâque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna Censorinus narrare solitus est, Romam demigravit, in foro esse cœpit. Primum stipendium meruit annorum decem septemque, Q. Fabio

C A T O was born in the Brough Town of * Tusculum, and when a very young Man, before he made Suit for any publick Posts in the Government, lived in the Country of the Sabines, because he had an Estate there, left him by his Father. By the Advice of L. Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for his Colleague in the Consulship and Censorship, as M. Perpenna Censorinus used to say, he removed to Rome, and began to appear in the † Forum. He first

* A Town of Latium in Italy, nearly twenty Miles East from Rome.

† The Forum was a large Square in the Middle of the Cities of Italy and Greece, where the Courts and Markets were kept, and where the People usually met, for the Choice of Magistrates, and the enacting of Laws.

Fabio Maximo, M. Claudio Marcello Coss. Tribunus militum in Sicilia fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra secutus est C. Claudii Neronis, magnique opera ejus æstimata est in prælio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal frater Hannibalis. Quæstor obtigit P. Cornelio Africano consuli, cum quo non pro fortis necessitudine vixit; namque ab eo perpetua dissenfit vita. Ædilis plebis factus est cum C. Helvio. Prætor, provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex quâ Quæstor superiore tempore ex Africâ decedens, Q. Ennium postam deduxerat; quod non minoris æstimamus, quàm quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum.

*first entered the Service of his Country in the Wars, when he was Seventeen Years of Age, under the Consuls Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus. He was a * Tribune of Soldiers in Sicily. As soon as he came from thence, he followed the Camp of C. Claudius Nero, and his Service was highly valued in the Battle † of Sena, in which Hasdrubal, the Brother of Hannibal, fell. He happened to be § Quæstor to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus when Consul, with whom he lived not according to the ‡ Obligation his Chance had brought him under; for he differed with him all his Life long. He was made ** Ædile of the Commons with C. Helvius. When †† Prætor, he got the Province of Sardinia; out of which, when coming Quæstor some Time before out of Africa, he had brought away Q. Ennius the*

CAP.

Poet;

* A Tribune was a military Officer, pretty much like our Colonels. There were at first six in a Legion, which had the Command of it in their Turns; but afterwards they were reduced to the Command of one single Cohort or Regiment, of which there were ten in a Legion; and therefore it is supposed there were the like Number of Tribunes.

† A City of Italy, in that Part of it formerly called Umbria, nigh the Adriatick Sea.

§ The Quæstor in Rome was a Sort of a Lord Treasurer. The Proconsuls and Propretors too, that were sent Governors into the Provinces of the Roman Empire, had their Quæstors, who had the Charge of the Public Money, the Plunder that was not given to the Soldiers, &c.

‡ The Quæstors, as well as Proconsuls and Propretors, had their Provinces assigned them by Lot, and usually lived in a strict Friendship with those under whom their Lot fell.

** An Officer whose Business it was to take Care of the Markets and publick Buildings.

†† The Prætor at Rome was Superintendant, or Director, of their Courts of Justice.

E c

Pact; which we value no less, than any the noblest Triumph over Sarahina.

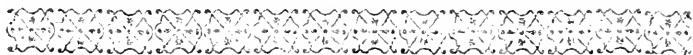
CAP. II. Consulatam gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco; sorte provinciam nactus Hispaniam citeriorem, exque eâ triumphum deportavit. Ibi quum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, consul iterum, cujus in priori consulari Quæstor fuerat, voluit eum de Provinciâ depellere, & ipse ei succedere: neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, quum eundem anno in civitate principatum obtineret: quod tum non potentia, sed jure, reipublicæ administrabatur: quâ ex re iratus, senatu perisso, privatus in urbe mansit. At Cato, Censor cum eodem Flacco factus, severè præfuit ei potestati; nam & in complures nobiles animadvertit, & multas res novas in edictum addidit, quâ re luxuria reprimebatur, quæ jam tum incipiebat pullulare. Cetero annos octoginta, usque ad extremam ætatem, ab adolescentiâ, reipublicæ causa suscipere inimicitias non desistit. A multis tentatus, non modò nullum detrimentum existimationis fecit, sed quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit. In omnibus rebus singulari fuit prudentiâ & industriâ; nam & agricolæ solers, & reipublicæ peritus, & juris

con-

CHAP. II. *He bore the Office of Consul with L. Valerius Flaccus; he got by Lot Hither Spain for his Province, and brought home from thence a Triumph. As he staid there long, P. Scipio Africanus, a second Time Consul, who he had been in the former Consulate, designed to oust him of his Province, and to succeed him himself; but could not effect it by the Senate, though Scipio had the greatest Sway in the City; but as the Government was then managed not by Interest, but Justice: For which Reason being angry, when his Consulship was expired, he continued a private Person in the City. But Cato, being made Censor with the same Flaccus, behaved very strictly in that Post, for he punished several Noblemen, and put a great many new Things into the Edict, whereby Luxury might be restrained, which even then began to bud. He never ceased for about fourscore Years, from his Youth to the End of his Life, to engage in Quarrels upon the Commonwealth's Account. Though he was attacked by many, he not only suffered no Loss of Reputation, but grew in Fame for his excellent Qualities, as long as he lived. In all Things he was a Man of excellent Prudence and Industry; for he was both a dextrous Husbandman, well skilled in the Business of Government, and a Lawyer, and a great*

consultus, & magnus imperator & probabilis orator, & cupidissimus literarum fuit; quarum studium etiam senior ampuerat, tamen tantum progressum fecit, ut non facile reperire possis, neque de Græcis neque de Italianis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adolescentiâ confecit orationes; senex historias scribere instituit, quarum sunt libri septem: Primus continet res gestas regum populi Romani: Secundus & tertius, unde quæque civitas orta sit Italica, ob quam rem omnes *Origines* videtur appellasse: In quarto autem, bellum Punicum primum: in quinto, secundum: atque hæc omnia capitulationi sunt dicta. Reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad Prætoriam Ser. Galbæ, qui diripuit Lusitanos. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. In iisdem exposuit quæ in Italiâ Hispaniisque viderentur admiranda; in quibus multa industria & diligentia compareret, multa doctrina. Cujus de vitâ & moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici: quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus.

great Commander, and a plausible Orator, and very fond of Learning; the Study of which though he took up when old, yet he made so great a Progress in it, that you cannot easily find any Thing, either of the Grecian or the Italian Affairs, which was unknown to him. He made Speeches from his Youth: When old, he began to write History, of which there are seven Books: The first contains The Actions of the Kings of the Roman People: The second and third contain an Account, from whom every City of Italy had its Rise, for which reason he seems to have called them all Origines: In the fourth is the first Carthaginian War: In the fifth, the second: And all these Things are summarily related. And he has gone through the other Wars, in the like Manner, unto the Protectorship of Ser. Galba, who rised the Lusitanians. And he has not named the Generals in these Wars, but has set down the Actions without Names. In the same Books he has given an Account of what seemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; in which there appears much Industry and Diligence, and much Learning. We have said more concerning his Life and Manners, in that Book which we made separately about him, at the Request of T. Pomponius Atticus; wherefore we send those that are desirous of knowing Cato to that Volume.



XXV.

XXV.

T. POMPONII ATTICI *Vita*,
ex Cornelio Nepote.

The Life of T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS, out of Cornelius Nepos.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

POMPONIUS Atticus, ab origine ultimâ stirpis Romanæ generatus, perpetuo à majoribus acceptam equestrem obtinuit dignitatem. Pæne usus est diligente. Indulgente, & ut tum erant tempora, diti, imprimisque studioso literarum: Hic, prout ipse amabat literas, omnibus doctrinis, quibus puerilis ætas imperari debet, filium eduxit. Erat autem in puero præter docilitatem ingenii, maxima suavis oris ac vocis, ut non solum celeriter amperet quæ tradebantur, sed etiam excellenter pronuntiaret; quæ ex re in pueritia nobilis inter aequales ferebatur, clarèque exipendebat, quàm generosi condiscipuli animo æquo ferre possent; itaque inhiabat omnes suo studio, quo in numero fuerunt

POMPONIUS Atticus, descended of an ancient Roman Family, kept the * Equestrian Dignity, received by uninterrupted Succession from his Ancestors. He had a diligent and indulgent Father, and, as the Times were then, rich, and, above all Things, a Lover of Learning: As he loved Learning himself, he instructed his Son in all that Sort of Literature that Youth ought to be acquainted with. There was in him when a Boy, besides a Facility of Wit, a mighty Sweetness of Mouth and Voice, that he not only quickly took in what was taught him, but also pronounced excellently; upon which Account he was reckoned famous amongst his Fellows in his Childhood, and shone out more brightly than his noble School-fellows were able to bear with a patient Mind; wherefore

* The Roman People were divided into three Orders, the Plebeian, Equestrian, and Senatorian: Those, whose Estates were 400,000 Sesterces (upwards of 300 Pounds) were reckoned of the Equestrian Order, till they were chosen into the Senate, and then they were of the Senatorian. Atticus's Ancestors had never any of them been in the Senate, and he, treading in their Steps, declined all Preferment.

uerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero, quos consuetudine suâ sic sibi devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetuò fuerit carior.

wherefore he pushed them all forward by his great Application, in which Number was L. Torquatus, C. Marius the Son, M. Cicero, whom he so engaged to him by his Acquaintance with them, that nobody was all along more dear to them.

CAP. II. Pater maturè decessit. Ipse adolescentulus propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui Tribunus pl. interfectus est, non expers fuit illius periculi: namque Anicia, Pomponii consobrina, nupserat M. Servio fratri P. Sulpicii. Itaque interfecto Sulpitio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem esse perturbatam, neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissolciatis animis civium; cùm alii Syllanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit: neque eo seciùs adolescentem Marium hostem, judicatum, juvit opibus suis; cujus fugam pecuniâ sublevavit. Ac, ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod afferet rei familiaris, eodem magnam partem fortunarum trajecit suarum. Hic ita vixit, ut universis Athenientibus merito esset carissimus: Nam, præter gratiam, quæ jam adolescentulo magna erat, sæpe suis

CHAP. II. His Father died early. He being a very young Man, by Reason of his Affinity with P. Sulpicius, who was slain when Tribune of the Commons, was not clear of that Danger; for Anicia, the Cousin of Pomponius, had married M. Servius, the Brother of Sulpicius: Wherefore P. Sulpicius being slain, after he found the City mightily disturbed with the Bussle raised by Cinna, and that there was no Possibility for him to live suitably to his Dignity, but he must offend one Party or the other, the Minds of his Countrymen being divided; whilst some favoured Sylla's Party, and others Cinna's; thinking it a proper Time to follow his Studies, he withdrew himself to Athens; but nevertheless he assisted young Marius, declared an Enemy, with his Estate; and relieved him in his Banishment with Money. And, lest that his living Abroad should prove a Detriment to his Estate, he carried over to the same Place a great Part of his Substance. Here he lived so, that he was deservedly very dear to all the Athenians: For, besides his * Interest, which

* By Gratia is here meant the Interest he had amongst several of the leading Men at Rome, by which he was in a Condition of serving the Athenians several Ways.

fuís opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit: Cum enim venturam facere publicè necesse esset, neque ejus conditionem æquam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita, ut neque usuram unquam ab his acceperit, neque longius quàm dictum esset, eos debere passus sit; quod unumque erat his salutare: nam neque indulgendo inveterare eorum res alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis ulnis crescere. Tunc hoc officium alià quocunq; liberalitate; nam universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis VI. modii tritici darentur, qui modus mensuræ *Medimnus* Athenis appellatur.

CAP. III. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infans, par principibus videretur; quo factum est, ut hunc omnes honores, quos possent, publicè haberent, civemque facere studerent: quo beneficio ille uti noluit: quod nonnulli ita interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanum alià adscita. Quamdiu affuit,

ne

which was already considerable in him, tho' a very young Man, he often relieved their public Want out of his own Estate: For when the Government was obliged to borrow Money to pay off a publick Debt, and could have no fair Offer for it, he always interposed, and so, that he neither ever received any Use of them, nor suffered them to take him the Money longer than had been agreed; both which Things were very good for them: for he neither suffered their Debts to grow old upon them, by forbearing them, nor to encrease by the multiplying of Use. He added to this Kindness by another Piece of Generosity too; for he presented them † all with Corn, so that six ‡ Medii of Wheat were given to every Man, which Kind of Measure is called a Medimnus at Athens.

CHAP. III. He likewise behaved so, that he seemed upon a Level with the Lowest, and yet equal to the Greatest; from whence it was, that they publickly conferred upon him all the Honours which they could, and endeavoured to make him a Freeman of their City; which Kindness he would not accept; because some construe the Matter so, that the Freedom of Rome

* *Perfura* signifies borrowing of one to pay another; which has no Word to answer it in our Language.

† Our Author has here expressed himself very carelessly; to be sure, he did not present them all, *Universos*, but only the poorer Sort; it would have been so far from a Kindness, that it would have been a most stupid Affront, to have offered a Largess of a few Pecks of Corn to People of Quality, or any tolerable Fashion.

‡ A *Medius* is reckoned by some to be about two Pecks.

de qua sibi statua poneretur, resistit; absens, prohibere non potuit: Itaque aliquot ipsi & Pilia, locis sanctissimis posuerunt; hunc enim in omni procuratione Reip. actorem, auctoremque habebant. Igitur primum illud munus fortune, quod in eâ potissimum urbe natus est, in quâ domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem & patriam haberet, & domum: Hoc specimen prudentiæ, quod cum in eam se civitatem contulisset, quæ antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinâ præstaret omnes, ei unus ante alios fuerit carissimus.

Rome is lost by taking another. As long as he was there, he made such Opposition, that no Statue was erected for him; when absent, he could not hinder it: Wherefore they set up statues both for him and Pilia, in the most sacred Places; for in the whole Management of their Government, they had him for their Adviser and Agent. Wherefore that was an especial Favour of Fortune, that he was born in that City, renowned, in which was the Seat of the Empire of the World, that he had the same both for his Native Place, and his Home: This was a Specimen of his Prudence, that when he withdrew himself from that City, which excelled in wisdom, in Antiquity, in Manners, in Learning, he was singly very desirous to be above all others.

CAP. IV. Huc ex Asia Sylla decedens cum venisset; quamdiu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adolescentis & humanitate & doctrinâ; sic enim Græcè loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur: tanta autem erat suavitas sermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quendam leporem esse, non adscitum. Idem poemata pronuntiabat & Græcè & Latine sic, ut supra nihil posset. Quibus rebus factum est, ut Sylla nunquam eum à se dimitteret, cuperetque secum deducere; cui cum persuadere tentaret, *Nihil eis te in-*
quit

CIVAP. IV. When Sylla was come hither in his Departure from Asia, so long as he was there, he kept Pomponius with him, charmed with the Politeness and Learning of the Youth; for he spoke Greek so, that he seemed to have been born at Athens: But such was the Sweetness of his Latin Dialogue, that it appeared there was a certain natural Pleasure in him, not acquired. The same Man pronounced Poems both in Greek and Latin so, that nothing could be beyond it. For which Things it was, that Sylla would never part with him from him, and was desirous to take him along with him to Rome; when when he endeavoured to persuade us that,

Do

quit Pomponius) *adversum eos me velle ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui.* At Sylla adolescentis officio collaudato, omnia munera ei, quæ Athenis acceperat, proficiscens jussit deferri. Hic complures annos moratus, cum & rei familiari tantum operæ daret, quantum non indiligens deberet paterfamilias, & omnia reliqua tempora aut literis, aut Atheniensium Reip. tribuerit; nihilominus amicis urbana officio præstitit: nam & ad comitia eorum ventitavit, & si qua res major acta est, non defuit; sicut Ciceioni in omnibus ejus periculis singularem fidem præbuit: cui ex patriâ fugienti LLS. CC. & quinquaginta millia donavit. Tranquillatis autem rebus

Donot, I beseech you, (*says Pomponius*) desire to lead me against those, with whom that I might not bear Arms against you, I left Italy. But Sylla commending the Behaviour of the young Man, upon his Departure, ordered all the Presents, which he had received at Athens, to be carried to him. Having staid here several Years, whilst he employed as much Care upon his Estate as a diligent Master of a Family ought to do, and bestowed all the rest of his Time either upon Books, or the Government of the Athenians; * notwithstanding he performed all manner of good Offices in the City of Rome to his Friends: for he both came frequently to their Elections, and, if any important Matter of theirs was transacted, was not wanting; as he shewed a singular Faithfulness to Cicero in all his Dangers; to whom when

* I am somewhat surpris'd to find this Passage thus translated by Major Pack, "He found many Opportunities to perform very important Services to his Friends on the suffering Side; he frequently assisted at their private Rendezvous." Our Author is not here talking of his Friends on the suffering Side, *i. e.* on the Side of Marius; but of his Friends in general, or rather those on the conquering Side; for such alone, during the Tyranny of Sylla, were permitted to sue for the great Offices of the Government, and such he here means, as is plain from what follows, *Ad comitia eorum ventitavit*; which is not to be rendered, "Assisted at their private Rendezvous," Words hardly intelligible; but in the same Manner, or to the same Purpose, as I have done; *comitia* never signifying any Thing else than Meetings of the People for their Choice of Magistrates, enacting Laws, or Public Trials. The Relative Pronoun, *eorum* seems to restrain it to the first Kind, Meetings of the People for the Choice of Magistrates or Elections. The Major has mistaken too the Sense of *Urba a Officia*, which signifies here such Services or good Offices, as were confined to the City of Rome, and could

rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cottâ, & L. Torquato COSS. quem diem sic universa civitas Atheniensium profecuta est, ut lacrymis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

when * banished his Country, he presented two hundred and fifty thousand † Sesterces. But after the Roman Affairs were pretty well settled, he returned to Rome, as I think, when L. Cotta and L. Torquatus were Consuls; which Day the whole City of the Athenians did so observe, that they discovered by their Tears their Sorrow for their future Loss.

CAP. V. Habebat avunculum, Q. Cæcilium, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficilimâ naturâ; cujus sic asperitatem veritus est, ut quem nemo ferre posset, hujus sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit benevolentiam; quo facto tulit pietatis

CHAP. V. He had an Uncle, Q. Cecilius, a Roman Knight, a Friend of L. Lucullus, rich, but of a very rugged Temper; whose Peccishness he bore so meekly, that he kept in his Favour, without any Offence given, to an extreme Age, whom nobody else was able to bear with; for which he reaped the Fruit of his † dutiful Behaviour towards

could not elsewhere be performed at all, or so effectually, such as waiting upon the Candidates to the Forum, or in their Rounds about the Town, making of Interest among the Citizens for them: These, and the like are the *Urbana Officia* here spoken of. I make not this Remark to depreciate Mr. Pack's Performance, which is as good, at least, if not better than any Thing of the Kind I ever read; but to do Justice to Cornelius Nepos, and myself too, who might otherwise be condemned, upon the Authority of Mr. Pack, as having here grossly mistaken the Sense of my Author.

* I chose to render *fugienti ex patria*, being banished out of his Country: Major Pack's Translation, *being obliged to fly his Country*, is, to my Thinking, too general to convey the Author's Meaning to such as are unacquainted with Cicero's Story; he uses the Word *fugio* here, as the Greeks do their Verb *φεύγω*, which is commonly put for being banished, sometimes with the Accusative *πατριδα*, but oftener, I think, without.

† A Sesterce was the fourth Part of a Denarius, which was about S*d.* of our Money; the whole Sum therefore here mentioned is near upon 2000 Pounds.

‡ *Pietas*, I render, dutiful Behaviour. Piety, which is Major Pack's Translation of the Word, has nothing at all to do here. See Note the first, on the first Chapter of Dion's Life.

pietatis fructum. Cæcilius enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex dodrante; ex quâ hæreditate accepit circiter centies LSS. Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliârat; cum quo à condiscipulatu vivebat conjunctissimè, multò etiam familiariùs quàm cum Quinto: ut judicari possit, plus in amicitia valere similitudinem morum, quàm affinitatem. Utebatur autem intimè Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset, uter eum plùs diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius; & id, quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtreectatio; essetque talium virorum copula.

towards him. For Cecilius, when dying, adopted him by his Will, and made him Heir to * Three-Fourths of his Estate; by which Inheritance he got about a hundred Times a hundred thousand † Sesterces. The Sister of Atticus was married to Q. Tullius Cicero, and M. Cicero had made up the Match; with whom he lived in a very close Friendship from the Time of their being School-fellows, and much more familiarly than with Quintus; that it may be thereby judged, that a Similitude of Manners does more in Friendship than Affinity. He was likewise intimate with Q. Hortensius, who in those Times had the highest Reputation for Eloquence, that it could not be understood whether of them loved him more, Cicero or Hortensius; and he effected that which was very difficult, that there was no Endeavour to lessen one another passed betwixt those, betwixt whom there was a Rivalry for so considerable a Prize of Fame; and he was the Instrument of Union betwixt those great

CAP. Men.

CHAP.

* *Dodrans* is nine *uncie* or Twelfth's of the Roman *As*, which was originally a large Brass Coin, almost an English Pound; but by several Reductions brought at last to one four and twentieth Part of that Weight. An Estate was likewise termed *As*, and divided into twelve Parts, called *uncie*, and accordingly *hæres ex assè*, was Heir to the whole Estate, *hæres ex dodrante* was Heir to nine *uncie* or Twelfth's, *i. e.* Three Fourths of the Estate.

† *Sestertius*, as I have already remarked, is near upon two Pence of our Money; *Sestertium* signifies a thousand *Sestertii*: According to the Roman Way of Reckoning, after a numeral Adverb is always to be understood a hundred Thousand; so that *centies LSS.* is a hundred times a hundred Thousand Sesterces, or ten Millions, *i. e.* 70,000 Pounds of our Money nearly. It seems strange the Romans should use no higher a Denomination, than that of a twopenny Piece, in their Reckoning of Money; it must have rendered Accounts high, and troublesome enough.

CAP. VI. In Repub. ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium & esset, & existimaretur; neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret, quòd non magis eos in suà potestate existimabat esse, qui se iis dedissent, quàm qui maritimis jactarentur. Honores non petiit, cùm ei paterent propter vel gratiam, vel dignitatem; quòd neque peti more majorum, neque capi possent, conservatis legibus, in tam effusis ambitùs largitionibus; neque geri è republicà sine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad hastam publicam nunquam accessit. Nullius rei neque præs, neque manceps factus est. Neminem neque suo nomine, neque subscribens accusavit. In jus de suà re nunquam iit; judicium

CHAP. VI. He behaved himself so in the Commonwealth, that he both always was and was reckoned of the * Party of the Quality; and yet he would not engage himself in civil Broils, because he did not think them to be more in their own Power, who trusted themselves upon those Waves, than they who were tossed about by the Waves of the Sea. He did not sue for any Preferment in the State, though it lay ready for him, by reason either of his Interest or Quality; because it could neither be sued for after the Manner of our Ancestors, nor be attained, if the Lacus were observed, in so prodigious an Extravagance of Corruption; nor he managed to the Service of the Commonwealth without Danger, the Morals of the City being so much depraved. He never came to a public † Sale. He never became § Surety for, nor a Farmer of, any Part of the public Revenue.

F f 2

* Major Pack renders *Optimarum partium*, by right Side; but in my Opinion, those Words can signify nothing but the best or a very good Side or Party; which would imply, that there were more Parties than two in Rome, which is false. *Optimarum* is undoubtedly a wrong Reading for *Optimatum*. See Note the first, on the sixth Chapter of Dion's Life.

† He means chiefly the Sale of the Estates of such as were taken off in the Proscription of that barbarous Butcher Sylla. Atticus in that acted the Part of a generous Man, and a Lover of his Country, that scorned to encrease his Estate out of the Spoils taken from his innocent Fellow-Citizens. In those Sales it was usual for the Præco, or the Person that superintended and managed the Sale, to fix down a Spear by him, which is the Reason of our Author's wording himself as he does.

§ *Manceps* properly signifies a Farmer of the Public Revenue, as the Customs, Taxes, &c. and *Præs* a Person bound to the Government for the Farmer's due Performance of his Bargain.

cium nullum habuit. Multorum Consulium Prætorumque præfecturas delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sic secutus; honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris despexerit fructum; qui ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone valuerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati locum obtinere posset; non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum Præturam gerere noluisse, asseclam esse Prætoris: quâ in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquillitati, cum suspiciones quoque vitaret criminum: quo fiebat, ut ejus observantia omnibus esset carior, cum

*Revenue. He never * accused any one in his own Name, nor in the Quality of a Subscriber or Assistant. He never went to Law about any Thing of his own; had no Trial. He so accepted of the Commissions of several Consuls and Pretors, when offered him, that he followed none of them into his Province; was content with the Honour, he despised the Improvement of his Estate; who would not indeed go along with Q. Cicero into Asia, though he might have had the Post of † Lieutenant-General under him; for he did not think it became him, since he would not bear the Office of Pretor, to be an Attendant upon a Pretor: In which Thing he not only consulted his*

* When any Person of Figure was impeached of any Crime, there were usually several Managers of the Trial against him; but yet the Burden lay chiefly upon one Person, who preferred the Bill of Indictment, or Impeachment, to the Pretor or Lord Chief Justice, with his Name to it, and was called *Accusator*. Others, that had a Mind to countenance the Matter, and give their Assistance for the Management of the Cause, subscribed their Name, but either spoke but very little, or not at all in the Court; the Business of speaking there belonged chiefly, if not solely, to the *Accusator*. What Major Pack means by translating this Passage, "He never openly or privately accused any Man," I cannot tell. Was I as much at Liberty in my Translation as the Major was, I should have turned it thus; "He never was concerned in the Prosecution of an Indictment against any Person, either as principal Manager of the Trial, or Assistant."

† Mr. Pack translates *Legatus* by Legate or General Officer, as if those were Words of the same Import in our Language. How far the Title of General Officer may extend, the Major knows much better than I; and because I am somewhat uncertain about it, I choose to make use of the Word Lieutenant-General; because that, I take it, the Word *Legatus* signifies here, and that only; a *Legatus* in the Roman Armies was next to the General in Power, and used to command, by the General's Appointment, some Part of the Army in the Day of Battle, and likewise the Whole in the General's Absence. There were several of them in an Army.

cùm eam officio, non timori, neque spei tribui viderent.

his Dignity, but likewise his Quiet, since he avoided even the Suspicions of Crimes: From whence it was, that his Respect was the more dear to all People, when they saw that it proceeded from Kindness, not Fear or Hope.

CAP. VII. Incidit Cæsarianum civile bellum, cùm haberet annos circiter sexaginta. Usus est ætatis vacatione, neque se quòquam movit ex urbe. Quæ amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiscentibus, omnia ex suâ re familiari dedit. Ipsum Pompeium conjunctum non offendit, nullum enim ab eo habebat ornamentum, ut cæteri, qui per eum aut honores, aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitissimi castra sunt secuti, partim summâ cum ejus offensione domi remanserunt: Attici autem quies tantopere Cæsari fuit grata, ut victor, cùm privatis pecunias per epistolas imperaret, huic non solum molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis & Q. Ciceronis filium ex Pompeii castris concesserit. Sic vetere instituto vitæ, effugit nova pericula.

CAP. VIII. Secutum est illud. Occiso Cæsare, cùm Respub. penes Brutos videretur esse & Cassium, ac tota civitas se ad eum convertisse videretur; sic M. Bruto

CHAP. VII. *Cesar's Civil War fell out, when he was about sixty Years old. He made use of the Privilege of his Age, nor did he stir any whither out of the Town. He gave all Things that were necessary for his Friends, upon their going to Pompey, out of his own Estate. He did not offend Pompey, tho' a Friend; for he had no Obligation from him, as others, who by him had got either great Poles or Riches; Part of which followed his Camp very unwillingly, Part staid at Home, to the great Offence of him: But Atticus's keeping quiet was so agreeable to Cesar, that after he was Conqueror, when he commanded several private Gentlemen by Letters to furnish him with Money, he was not only not troublesome to him, but likewise gave him out of Pompey's Camp the Son of his Sister and Quintus Cicerò. Thus by his old Way of Life, he avoided new Dangers.*

CHAP. VIII. *Then followed this. After Cesar was slain, when the Government seemed to be in the Hands of the Brutus's and Cassius, and the whole City was seen to turn themselves toward them;*

Brutus uetus est, ut nullo
 alle adolescens æquali fami-
 liaris, quàm hoc sene;
 neque solum cum princi-
 pem consilii haberet, sed e-
 tiam in convivio. Excogi-
 ratum est à quibusdam, ut
 privatum ætarium Cæsaris
 interfectioibus ab equitibus
 Romanis constitueretur: id
 facile effici posse arbitrari
 sunt, si & principes illius
 ordinis pecunias contulissent.
 Itaque appellatus est à C.
 Flavio, Bruti familiari, At-
 ticus, ut ejus rei princeps
 esse vellet: at ille, qui offi-
 cia amicis præstanda sine
 factione existimaret, semper-
 que à talibus se consiliis re-
 movisset, respondit, Si quid
 Brutus de suis facultatibus
 uti voluisset, usurum, quan-
 tum ea paterentur: sed ne-
 que cum quoquam de eà re
 collocaturum, neque coitu-
 rum. Sic ille consensionis
 globus hujus unius dissen-
 sione disiectus est. Neque
 multo post superior esse cœ-
 pit Antonius; ita ut Brutus
 & Cassius, provinciarum, quæ
 adiciis iis causâ dante erant à

con-

* them; he was so kind with *him*.
Brutus, that that young Gentle-
 man had more Intimacy with none
 of his own Age than with that
 old Gentleman; and not only used
 him as his principal Counsellor,
 but had him pretty constantly at
 his Table. It was projected by
 some, that a Sort of private Fund
 should be settled by the Roman
 Knights for the Assassins of
 Cæsar: They thought that might
 easily be effected, if the leading
 Persons of that Order would con-
 tribute Money towards it. Where-
 fore Atticus was spoke to by C.
 Flavius, Brutus's Friend, that
 he would be the Beginner of that
 Matter; but he, who thought good
 Offices were to be performed to
 his Friends without Regard to
 Party, and had always kept him-
 self at a Distance from such Ca-
 bals, replied, That if Brutus had
 a Mind to make any Use of his
 Estate, he might use it, as far as
 it would bear; but that he would
 neither confer, nor have a Meeting
 with any one upon that Affair.
 Thus this Ball of Agreement was
 dashed in Pieces by the Dissent
 of him alone. And not long after
 Antony began to be uppermost;
 so

* The Reading here is *cum*; but I think it should be *ets*, and have translated accordingly; for no good Reason, I think, can be given why the Eyes of the whole City should be turned upon Atticus, a private Gentleman; but a very good one, why they should be turned upon the Brutus's and Cassius, because they seemed to be now Men of the greatest Power and Interest in the whole Common-wealth.

confulibus, desperatis rebus, in exilium proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum cæteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abjecto Bruto, Italiæque cedenti LLS. centum millia muneris misit; eidem in Epiro abfens CCC. jussit dari: neque eò magis potenti adulatus est Antonio, neque desperatos reliquit.

so * that Brutus and Cassius, their Case being desperate, went into the Provinces which had been given them by the Consuls, as it were into Banishment. Atticus, who could not contribute Money, together with the rest, to that Party, when flourishing, sent as a Present a hundred thousand Sesterces to Brutus, in Distress, and retiring out of Italy; and ordered three hundred thousand more to be given him in Epire; nor did he therefore flatter Antony now in Power, nor leave those that were in a desperate Condition.

CAP.

CHAP.

* The Text is here most vilely corrupted: 1st, *Provinciarum* should, I think, be *in Provincias*, as some Criticks would have it, for thither it is certain they did go; that is, into Macedonia and Syria; besides *rebus Provinciarum desperatis*, can signify nothing, in my Mind, but the Case or Condition of the Provinces being looked upon as desperate, *i. e.* by them; which had it been true, as it was not, would be a strange Kind of Reason for their going into Banishment, and into those very Provinces; the Provinces were in no Danger; they found, and raised together, considerable Armies there; enough, any one would have then thought, to have chased the three Tyrants, Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar, out of the Roman Empire. 2dly. *Dicis Causâ*, for Form's Sake, cannot stand, because not true. Those Provinces had been given them by Cæsar, and confirmed to them by the Senate, not in formal empty Ceremony, or Compliment, whilst they were at Bottom never intended for them, but so iously, and out of Regard to the Public Interest; which required that two of the richest Provinces of the Roman Empire, and the best provided with Troops, should be in able and trusty Hands, well affected to the Public Liberty, and such as the honest Party could depend upon, at so dangerous a Juncture. This our Author knew as well as any Body, and therefore could not be guilty of saying, the Provinces were given them *Dicis Causâ*. Nor will the other Reading *Actis* do, without the Word *Cæsaris*, though I somewhat question even the Propriety of that Expression; however, without that Addition, the Word *Actis* can relate to none but the Persons mentioned, according to the constant Usage of the Latin Tongue; and then the Sense will be

CAP. IX. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam; in quo si tantum eum prudentem dicam, minus quam debeam prædicem, cum ille potius divinus fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quæ nullis casibus augeatur, neque minuitur. Hostis Antonius judicatus Italiâ cesserat: spes restituendi nulla erat: non solum ejus inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi & plurimi, sed etiam amici adversariis ejus se dabant, & in eo lædendo se aliquam consecuturos sperabant commoditatem; ejus familiares insequabantur; uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus

CHAP. IX. After this followed the War carried on at Mutina; * in which, if I only style him prudent, I shall commend him less than I ought, since he was rather divine, if an uninterrupted natural Goodness, which is neither increased nor diminished by any Events of Fortune, is to be called Divinity. Antony, being declared an Enemy, had quitted Italy; there was no Hope of restoring him; not only his Enemies, who then were very powerful and very many, but likewise his quondam Friends, joined themselves with his Enemies, and hoped they should make their Advantage by doing him a Mischief; they persecuted his Friends; sought to strip his Wife Fulvia of every Thing;

be ridiculous, viz. that these Provinces were given them upon Account of their own Death. 3dly, The Words *ab Consulibus* look very much like the Gloss of some Ignoramus in the Roman Customs; for Provinces were never disposed of by the Consuls, but either by Lot, by the Senate, or by the Votes of the People.

* Compare this Passage with another in the Close of the 16th Chapter. where our Author, in commending Cicero's Foresight, says, *Prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem*. I am very inclinable to think that *Divinatio* here is a false Reading for *Divinitas*, which is the only Salvo I believe can be found for our Author. Perhaps some ignorant Person, finding the two Passages something alike, has pretended to correct the former by the latter, which Correction at last got into all the Copies. It is plain the Text, according to the present Reading is Nonsense. There is no Manner of Affinity or Similitude betwixt *Divinatio* in the only Sense it can here have, that of Prophecy or Foretelling by Virtue of a divine Impulse upon the Mind, or Inspiration; I say, there is no Manner of Likeness betwixt *Divinatio* in that Sense, and the unalterable Goodness of Humanity in Atticus, which the Author is here commending, and consequently no Foundation for such an Application of the Word *Divinatio*. If we read *Divinitas*, for *Divinatio*, the Sense will be then what I have expressed in my Translation.

bus spoliare cupiebat; liberos etiam extinguere parabant. Atticus, cum Ciceronis intimâ familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non modo nihil iis indulgit ad Antonium violandum; sed è contrario familiares ejus, ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit; quibus rebus indiguerunt, adjuvit. P. verò Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura à parente proficisci non potuerint. Ipsi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus distineretur, magnisque terroribus vexaretur, tantâ diligentia officium suum præstitit, ut nullum illa steterit vadimonium sine Attico; hic sponsor omnium rerum fuerit: Quinetiam, cum illa fundum secundâ fortunâ emisisset in diem, neque post calamitatem versuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit, pecuniamque sine scœnore, sineque ullâ stipulatione ei credidit, maximum existimans

Thing; and endeavoured too to destroy his Children. Atticus, though he had an intimate Familiarity with Cicero, and was a very great Friend to Brutus, not only complied with them in nothing for the misusing of Antony: but on the contrary protected, as much as he could, his Friends flying out of the City; and assisted them with what Things they wanted. He did these Things for P. Volumnius, that more could not have come from a Father. But he performed his good Offices with so much Care to Fulvia herself, when she was * embarrassed with Law-suits, and harrassed with great Terrours, that she never appeared upon Bail without Atticus; he was in all Cases her Bondsman: Moreover, when she had bought an Estate in her Prosperity to be paid for by a certain Day, and could not take up Money for it, after this unhappy Turn, he interposed, and trusted her the Money without Use, or † requiring any formal Promise

* *Distineo* seems originally and properly to signify to fasten, or pin down a Thing, on several Sides, as in that Passage of Cesar in B. I. C. 15 of the Civil War: *Has (naves) quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis distinebat, ne fluctibus moverentur.* Thence it was put figuratively for embarrass, encumber, &c. Thus we meet with *distentus bello, curis, occupationibus*, for a Person, whose Attention is wholly taken up, pinned down, as it were, to the Business of War, various Concerns or Employs, which keep the Mind, as it were, on all Sides attached to them, so as not to leave it at Liberty to move, stir, or apply itself to any Thing else.

† *Stipuler*, from whence the Noun *Stipulatio* comes, signifies to require, upon the Conclusion of a Bargain or Agreement, a Promise,

mans quæstum, memorem gratumque cognosci; simulque aperire, se non fortunæ, sed hominibus solere esse amicum; quæ cum faciebat, nemo eum temporis causâ facere poterat existimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat, Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed sensus ejus à nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur, quòd parum odisse malos cives videretur.

*Promise of Repayment, thinking it the greatest Gain, to be found mindful and grateful, and at the same Time to shew the World, that he did not use to be a Friend to Fortune, but to Men; which when he did, nobody could think that he did it for Time-serving. For it came into nobody's Thought, that Antony would ever have the Superiority again. But his Conduct was blamed by some of the * Party of the Quality, because he seemed not sufficiently to hate bad Citizens.*

CAP. X. Ille autem sui judicii, potius, quid se facere par esset, intuebatur, quàm quid alii laudaturi forent. Conversa subito fortuna est. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum futurum putaret, propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis & Bruti; itaque ad adventum imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem: latebatque apud

CHAP. X. But he being under the Guidance of his own Judgment, regarded rather what was fit for him to do, than what others would commend. On a sudden Fortune was changed. When Antony returned into Italy, every Body thought Atticus would be in great Danger, because of the intimate Familiarity of Cicero and Brutus with him; wherefore upon the coming of the † Generals to Town, he had withdrawn from the Forum, fear-
ing

mise, by repeating, in clear and full Terms, the Substance of the Agreement, as in *Plautus*; *Dabisne argenti mihi hodie viginti minas?* is a *Stipulatio*, to which the other Party answers, *Dabo*. Atticus was so little concerned for the Security of his Money, that he did not so much as insist upon a set formal Promise for the Repayment of it.

* Those in Rome, that were for advancing the Power of the Senate, were called *Optimates*; and those, on the other hand, that stood up for the Rights and Privileges of the People, were called *Populares*. In the former Party were the Gentry generally, in the latter the Populace.

† Antony, Lepidus, and Cesar.

pud P. Volumnium, cui, ut
 ostendimus paulò antè, opem
 tulerat. (Tanta varietas iis
 temporibus fuit fortunæ, ut
 modò hi, modò illi, in sum-
 mo essent aut fastigio, aut
 periculo.) Habebatque se-
 cum Q. Gellium Canium,
 æqualem, simillimumque sui.
 Hoc quoquè sit Attici boni-
 tatis exemplum, quòd cum
 eo, quem puerum in ludo
 cognoverat, adeò conjunctè
 vixit, ut ad extremam æta-
 tem amicitia eorum creve-
 rit. Antonius autem, etsi
 tanto odio ferebatur in Ci-
 ceronem, ut non solùm ei,
 sed omnibus etiam ejus ami-
 cis esset inimicus, eosque vel-
 let proscribere; multis hor-
 tantibus tamen, Attici memor
 fuit officii; et ei, cum re-
 quisisset ubinam esset, suà
 manu scripsit, ne timeret, sta-
 timque ad se veniret; se eum,
 & Gellium Canium de pro-
 scriptorum numero exemisse,
 ac, ne quod periculum inci-
 deret, quod noctu fiebat, præ-
 sidium ei misit. Sic Atticus
 in summo timore non solùm
 sibi,

*ing the * Proscription; and ab-
 scended with P. Volumnius, to
 whom he had given his Assistance,
 as I have shewn a little above.
 (So great was the Variety of For-
 tune in those Times, that one
 while these, another while those,
 were either in the greatest Height
 of Grandeur, or the greatest Dan-
 ger.) And he had with him Q.
 Gellius Canius, equal in Age, and
 very much like himself. This
 likewise may be another Instance
 of Atticus's Goodness, that he
 lived in such a close Union with
 him, whom he had known when a
 Boy at School, that their Friend-
 ship grew even to their old Age.
 But Antony, though he was pushed
 on with so great a Resentment,
 against † Cicero, that he was not
 an Enemy to him only, but to all
 his Friends, and intended to pro-
 scribe them; yet, many People
 advising him to it, he was mind-
 ful of Atticus's Kindness; and
 when he had inquired where he
 was, wrote to him with his own
 Hand, that he should not fear, and
 that he should come to him out of
 hand, that he had taken him, and
 Gellius Canius out of the Number*

G g 2

of

* Proscription was the posting up of Gentlemens Names in the
 most public Parts of Rome, with the Promise of a Reward to such
 as should bring their Heads. This abominable Butchery was first
 used by Sylla, spoken of above.

† This Cicero was a Person of the highest Abilities in Rome, a
 good Philosopher, and the greatest Master of Eloquence that ever
 lived; which fine Talent cost him his Life: For having exerted it in
 several Harangues before the Senate against Antony, he so incensed
 him, that nothing could satisfy him but the Head of the Speaker,
 which he got at last, though Cesar struggled a long Time to
 save him.

sibi, sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat, præsidio fuit: neque enim suæ solùm à quocumque auxilium petiit salutis, sed conjunctim; ut appareret nullam se junctam sibi ab eo velle esse fortunam: quòd si gubernator præcipuà laude fertur, qui navem ex hyeme, marique scopuloso servat; cur non singularis ejus existimetur prudentia, qui ex tot, tamque gravibus procellis civilibus, ad incolumitatem pervenit?

of the Proscribed; and that he might not fall into any Danger, which was then usual in the Night, he sent him a Guard. Thus Atticus, under the utmost Apprehension, was not only a Security to himself, but also to him whom he held most dear: For he did not desire Help, in order to his own Security only, but in Conjunction with his Friend; that it might appear that he had a Mind to have no Fortune apart from him: But if a Pilot is extolled with singular Commendation, who saves a Ship out of a Storm, and a rocky Sea; why should not his Prudence be thought singular, who, out of so many and such violent civil Storms, came to a State of Security?

CAP. XI. Quibus ex malis ut se emerisset, nihil aliud egit, quam ut plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cùm proscriptos, præmiis Imperatorum, vulgus conquereret, nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit: nemini non ibi perpetuo manendi potestas facta est. Quinetiam, post prælium Philippense, interitumque C. Cassii, & M. Bruti, L. Julium Mocillam Prætorum, & filium ejus, Aulumque Torquatum, cæterosque pari fortunâ perculos instituit tueri, atque ex Epiro his omnia Samothraciam supportari jussit. Difficile enim est omnia

CHAP. XI. Out of which Distress after he had delivered himself, he minded nothing else but that he might be aiding to as many as possible, in what Things he could. Whilst the common People sought after the Proscribed, upon the promised Rewards of the Generals, nobody came into Epiro, to whom any Thing was wanting: Every one had a Convenience given them of staying there constantly. Moreover, after the Battle of * Philippi, and the Death of C. Cassius, and M. Brutus, he resolved to protect L. Julius Mocilla the Pretor, and his Son, and A. Torquatus, and the rest that were borne down by the like ill Fortune, and ordered all Necessaries to be carried to them

* Philippi was a City of Macedonia, nigh the Borders of Thrace.

omnia persequi, & non necessaria: Illud unum intelligi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam, neque calidam fuisse; id ex ipsis rebus ac temporibus judicari potest; quod non florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit; qui quidem Serviliam Brutî matrem, non minus post mortem ejus, quàm florentem, coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens, nullas inimicitias gessit, quod neque lædebat quenquam, neque si quam injuriam acceperat, malebat ulcisci, quàm oblivisci. Idem immortalî memoriâ recepta retinebat beneficia; quæ autem ipse tribuerat, tamdiu meminerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat: itaque hic fecit, ut verè dictum videatur, *Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam*. Neque tamen prius ille fortunam, quàm se, ipse finxit, qui cavit, ne quàm in re jure plecteretur.

CAP.

*them from Epirus to * Samothrace. † But it is difficult to run through all the Particulars of this Kind, and not ‡ necessary: We would have this one Thing understood, That his Generosity was neither temporary nor sily intended; that may be discerned by the Things and Times themselves; because he did not make his Court to those that were in a flourishing Condition, but always succoured the Distressed; who treated with Honour Servilia the Mother of Brutus no less after his Death, than when in a flourishing Condition. Thus employing his Generosity, he had no Quarrels with any body, because he neither injured any one, nor if he had received any Injury, did he chuse rather to revenge it, than forget it. The same Man kept in perpetual Remembrance Kindnesses received; but what he himself bestowed, he remembered so long as he was grateful that had received them; wherefore this he asserted by his Behaviour; that it seems to have been truly said, Every one's Manners make his Fortune; || neither*

* Samothrace is an Island of the Egean Sea, nigh the Coast of Thrace.

† *Enim* seems to have been put here by the Heedlessness of some Copier of Books for *Autem*; for what follows is no Reason of what goes before, as it should be, if *enim* was the true Reading.

‡ This *Necessaria*, I think, should be *necessarium*; for else I see not how it is possible to make Sense of this Passage.

|| What our Author here says, is, in my Opinion, very sily; *tamen* always intimates some seeming Opposition betwixt what goes before, and what follows; but there is so far from being any such seeming Opposition here, that there is a very manifest Agreement, it following very evidently from the Maxim foregoing, if true, that Atticus, to form his Fortune, must form himself first.

ther yet did he form his Fortune before he formed himself, who took Care that he should not be justly punished in any Case.

CAP. XII. His igitur rebus effectit, ut M. Vipsanius Agrippa, intimâ familiaritate conjunctus adolescenti Cæsari, cum propter suam gratiam, & Cæsaris potentiam, nullius conditionis non haberet potestatem, potissimum ejus diligeret affinitatem, præoptaretque equitis R. filiam generosam nuptiis: atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non enim est celandum) M. Antonius, Triumvir Reip. constituendæ, ejus gratiâ cum augere possessiones posset suas, tantum absuit à cupiditate pecuniæ, ut nullâ in re usus sit eâ nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis, aut incommodis: quod quidem sub ipsam proscriptionem perillustre fuit: nam cum L. Sausæii equitis R. æqualis sui, qui complures annos, studio ductus philosophiæ, Athenis habitabat, habebatque in Italiâ pretiosas possessiones, Triumviri bona vendidissent; consuetudine eâ, quâ tum res gerebantur; Attici labore atque industria factum est, ut eodem nuntio

CHAP. XII. By these Things therefore he brought it about, that M. Vipsanius Agrippa, united with the Youth Cesar in a close Familiarity, when, by reason of his own Interest and Cesar's Power, he had a Possibility of attaining any Match whatever, chose his Affinity above all others, and preferred the Daughter of a Roman Knight before the Matches of the * most noble Ladies: And the Maker up of this Match was (for we must not conceal it) M. Antony, the Triumvir for settling the Commonwealth; by whose interest when he might have encreased his Possessions, he was so far from a greedy Desire of Money, that he made use of that Interest in nothing, but begging off the Dangers and Troubles of his Friends; which was very remarkable in the Time of the Proscription: For when the Triumviri, according to the Way in which Things were then managed, had sold the Estate of L. Sausæius a Roman Knight, his Friend, who, moved by his Fancy for Philosophy, lived several Years at Athens, and had in Italy valuable Possessions;

* *Gnerosum* should be, in my Opinion, *Generosarum*; for though the Lady was of an Equestrian Family, yet since none of the Family had ever arrived to the Senatorian Order, she could not be called *generosa*, in Compariso. of many other Ladies in Rome that were far beyond her in Point of Quality.

tio Saufeius fieret certior, se patrimonium amisissè, & recuperassè. Idem L. Julium Calidum, quem post Lucretii Catulique mortem, multò elegantissimum poetam, nostram tulissè ætatem, verè videor possè contedere; neque minùs virum bonum, optimisque artibus eruditum; post proscriptionem equitum, propter magnas ejus Africanas possessiones, in proscriptorum numerum a P. Volumnio, præfecto fabrùm Antonii, absentem relatum, expeditum; quod in præsentem, utrum ei laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile fuit judicare; quòd in eorum periculis non secùs absentes, quàm præsentem amicos Attico esse curæ, cognitum est.

CAP. XIII. Neque verò minùs ille vir bonus paterfamilias habitus est, quàm civis. Nam cùm esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minùs fuit emax, minùs ædificator; neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit, omnibusque optimis rebus usus est; nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilanum, ab avunculo hæreditate relictam, cujus amœnitas non ædificio, sed sylvâ constabat; ipsum enim tecum antiquitus constitutum plùs salis quàm sumptus habebat? in quo nihil

sessions; it was brought about by the Pains and Industry of Atticus, that Saufeius was made acquainted by the same Messenger, that he had lost his Estate, and recovered it. The same Person likewise brought off L. Julius Calidius, whom methinks I may truly affirm our Age has produced much the finest Poet, since the Death of Lucretius and Catullus; and no less a good Man, and skilled in the best Arts; after the Proscription of the Knights, put into the Number of the Proscribed, because of his great Estate in Africa, by P. Volumnius, a Director of Antony's Engineers: which, whether it was more laborious or more glorious at that Time, was hard to judge; because it was observed that Atticus's Friends, in their Dangers, were no less his Care when absent, than when present.

CHAP. XIII. Neither was this Gentleman reckoned a less good Master of a Family, than a Citizen. For tho' he was a moneyed Man, yet nobody was less addicted to buying, nor less a Builder; and yet he had a very convenient Dwelling, and had all Things of the very best. For he had the Tamphilum House in the Quirinal Hill, an Estate left him by his Uncle, the Pleasantry of which did not consist in the Building itself, but in a Wood; for the House itself, being old built, had more of Neatness than Expense about it; in which he changed nothing, unless

nihil commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est. Usus est familiâ, si utilitate judicandum est, optimâ; si formâ, vix mediocri; namque in eâ erant pueri literatissimi, anagnostæ optimi, & plurimi librarii; ut ne pedisequus quidam quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchrè facere posset. Pari modo artifices cæteri, quos cultus domesticus desiderat, apprimè boni; neque tamen horum quenkum, nisi domi natum, domique factum, habuit; quod est signum non solum continentiæ, sed etiam diligentiæ: nam & non intemperanter concupiscere, quod à plurimis videas, continentis debet duci; & potius diligentia, quam pretio, parare, non mediocris est industriæ. Elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus: omni diligentia munditiem non affluentem affectabat: suppellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset. Nec hoc præteribo, quamquam nonnullis leve visum mihi putem: cum in primis lautus esset eques Rom. & non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret; scimus non

he was forced by the Oldness of it. He had * a Family of Servants, if we are to judge by Convenience, very good; if by outward Appearance, scarcely indifferent; for in it were very learned Boys, very good Readers, and many Transcribers of Books; that there was not indeed any Footman, that could not do both these very well. In like Manner other Artists, which domestic Use requires, were extremely good; neither yet had he any of those, but what was born in his House; and instructed in his House: which is a Sign not only of Moderation, but Diligence: For not extravagantly to desire, what you see to be so desired by many, ought to be accounted the Part of a moderate Man; and to procure Things by Diligence, rather than Purchase, is a Matter of no small Industry. He was elegant, not magnificent; splendid, not prodigal: He affected, with all possible Care, a Neatness that was not extravagant: His Furniture was moderate, not much; so as to be remarkable neither Way. Nor shall I pass this by, although I suppose it may seem a slight Matter to some: Though he was a genteel Roman Knight, and invited, not a little generously, Men of all Ranks to his House; we know that he did not use to reckon from his † Day-Book expended

* *Familia* is often, as here, put for the Servants of a Family only; and good Reason why, since the Word seems plainly derived from *famulus*, or else the latter from the former.

† It was usual with the Romans to keep an exact Account of their
their

non ampliùs quam terna millia æris penæque, in singulos menses, ex ephemeride cum expensum sumptui ferre solitum: que hoc non auditum, sed cognitum prædicamus: sæpe enim, propter familiaritatem, domesticis rebus intersumus.

*pented more than three thousand * Asles a Month, one with another: And this we affirm, not as a Thing heard, but a Certainty: because we were often, by Reason of our Intimacy, actually present at the Management of his domestick Affairs.*

CAP. XIV. Nemo in convivio ejus aliud *ingenium* audivit, quàm anagnosten; quod nos quidem jucundissimum arbitramur: neque unquam sine aliquâ lectione apud eum cœnatum est; ut non minùs animo, quàm ventre, convivæ delectarentur; namque eos vocabat, quorum mores à suis non abhornerent. Cùm tantæ pecuniæ facta esset accessio, nihil de quotidiano cultu mutavit; nihil de vitæ consuetudine: tantæque usus est moderatione, ut neque in festertio vicies, quod à patre acceperat, parum se splendide gesserit; neque in festertio centies, affluentius vixerit, quàm instituerit: parique fastigio steterit in utrâque fortunâ.

CHAP. XIV. *Nobody ever heard any other † Entertainment for the Ears at his Meals than a Reader; which we truly think very pleasant: nor was there ever a Supper at his House, without some Reading; that his Guests might be entertained in their Minds; as well as their Stomachs; for he invited those, whose Manners were not different from his own. And after so great an Addition was made to his Estate, he changed nothing of his daily Way of Life; nothing of his usual Method of living; and used so much Moderation, that neither in an Estate of twenty Times a hundred thousand Sesterces, which he had received from his Father, did he behave himself ungentely; nor in an Estate of a hundred Times a hundred thousand Sesterces, did he live more*

H h

plentifully

their daily Disbursements, and Receipts too, as appears from many Passages in the Roman Writers; the Book, in which these Accounts were kept, was called *Ephemeris*.

* The *As* was nearly a Penny of our Money, and so the whole Sum almost eleven Pounds. Things must have been very cheap in Rome, in Comparison to what they have been now-a-days with us, otherwise Atticus could not have frequently entertained, and that handsomely and genteely, Persons of the best Quality at his Table, at so small an Expence monthly.

† It was usual, at the Tables of Persons of Quality in Rome, to entertain the Guests with Musick, Farces, &c.

tunâ. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam; neq; in Italiâ, præter Ardeatinam & Nomentanum, rusticum prædium: omnisque ejus pecuniæ redditus constabat in Epiroticis, & urbanis possessionibus; ex quo cognosci potest, eum usum pecuniæ non magnitudine, sed ratione metiri solitum.

*plentifully than he had been used to do; and stood upon an equal Height in both Fortunes. He had no Gardens, no magnificent Seats nigh the City, or upon the Sea: nor any Land Estate in Italy, besides that at * Ardea, and at † Nomentum: and his whole Income of Money consisted in his Possessions in Epiro, and the City of Rome; from whence it may be understood, that he measured the Use of Money, not by its Quantity, but by the Manner of using it.*

CAP. XV. Mendacium neque dicebat, neque pati poterat; itaque ejus comitas non sine severitate erat, neque gravitas sine facilitate; ut difficile esset intellectu, utrùm eum amici magis vererentur, an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiosè promittebat; quòd non liberalis, sed levis arbitrabatur, polliceri quòd præstare non posset. Idem in nitendo quòd semel admisisset, tanta erat cura, ut non mandatum, sed suam rem videretur agere. Nunquam suscepti negotii eum pertaxum est; suam enim existimationem in eà re agi putabat, quâ nihil habebat carius; quo fiebat, ut omnia Marci & Quinti Ciceronum,

CHAP. XV. *He neither told a Lie himself, nor could he endure it: Wherefore his † Complaissance was not without a strict Regard to Truth, nor his Gravity without a good Degree of Compliance; that it was hard to be understood, whether his Friends revered or loved him more. Whatsoever he was asked, he promised & scrupulously; because he thought it the Part not of a generous but an inconsiderate Man, to promise what he could not perform. The same Man was a Person of so much Application in endeavouring to effect what he had once promised, that he did not seem to manage an Affair recommended to him by another, but his own. He was never weary*
of

* Ardea was a City of Latium, nigh the Sea, about twenty Miles from Rome.

† Nomentum, a Town in the Country of the Sabines.

‡ *Comitas* signifies Complaisance or Civility, in the Expression of which it has always been but too customary to have small Regard to Truth.

§ He was not very forward in his Promises, lest the Performance should not be in his Power.

ronum, Catonis, Hortensii, A. Torquati, multorum præterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret: ex quo judicari poterat, non inertiâ sed judicio fugisse Reipub. procuratorem.

of a Business he had undertaken; for he thought his Credit concerned in that Matter, than which he accounted nothing more valuable; from whence it was, that he managed all the Affairs of the Cicero's, Marcus and Quintus, of Cato, Hortensius, A. Torquatus, and many Roman Knights besides; from which it might be judged, that he declined the Business of Government not out of Laziness, but Judgment.

CAP. XVI. Humanitatis vero nullum asserere majus testimonium possum, quàm quoddam adolescens, idem seni Syllæ fuerit jucundissimus: senex, adolescenti M. Bruto; cum æqualibus autem suis Q. Hortensio, & M. Cicerone, sic vixerit, ut judicare difficile sit, cui ætati fuerit aptissimus; quanquam eum præcipuè dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior fuerit, aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio, præter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus jam sunt editi, sexdecim volumina epistolarum, ab Consulatu ejus usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum misarum; quæ qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum: sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reip. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in iis non appareat: & faciliè existimari possit, prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem: non enim Cicero

CHAP. XVI. But I can produce no greater Proof of his Politeness, than that the same Man, when young, was very agreeable to Sylla an old Man; and when old, was the same to M. Brutus, a young Man; but he so lived with his Friends of the same Age with himself, Q. Hortensius and M. Cicero, that it is hard to judge to what Age he was most suited; tho' Cicero loved him in a particular Manner, so that his Brother Quintus was not more dear to him, or more familiar with him. And sixteen Volumes of Epistles sent to Atticus, from the Time of his Consulship to the latter End of his Life, are a Proof of that Thing; besides those Books, wherein he makes mention of him, which are published to the World; which he that reads won't much want a continued History of those Times: For so all Particulars are put down, relating to the Designs of the leading Men, the Faults of the Commanders, and the Revolutions of the Government, that every Thing appears in them; and it may be easily thought, that Prudence is in some

cero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit; sed etiam, quæ nunc ulu veniunt, cecinit vates.

Measure a Divine Foresight : for Cicero did not only foretel those Things would be, which happened whilst he was alive ; but likewise predicted, as a Prophet, what now comes to pass.

CAP. XVII. De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? cum hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audierim, in funere matris suæ, quam extulit annorum nonaginta, cum esset septeni & sexaginta; se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse; nunquam cum sorore fuisse in similitate, quam prope æqualem habebat; quod est signum, aut nullam unquam inter eos querimoniam inte cessisse, aut hunc eam fuisse in suos indulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet, nasci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit naturâ solum, quanquam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam Jostinâ: nam & principum Philosopherum ita precepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem, uteretur.

CHAP. XVII. As to Atticus's Affection for his Relations, why should I say much? having heard him boast of this, and truly too, at the Funeral of his Mother, whom he buried at ninety Years of Age, when he was sixty-seven; that he never returned to a good Understanding with his Mother, never was at any Difference with his Sister; which he had nearly of the same Age; which is a Sign, either that no Complaint had passed betwixt them, or that he was a Man of so much Indulgence for his Relations, that he reckoned it a Crime to be angry with those, whom he ought to love. Nor did he do this from Nature only, altho' we all obey her, but likewise out of Principle, for he had so learned the Precepts of the greatest Philosophers, that he made Use of them for the Conduct of his Life, and not for Ostentation.

CAP. XVIII. Moris etiam majorum summus imitator fuit, antiquitatisque amator; quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magisteratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque

CHAP. XVIII. He was likewise a great Imitator of the Custom of our Ancestors, and a Lover of Antiquity; which he had so diligently enquired into, that he gave an Account of it thoroughly in that Volume, in which * he has put down, in Order of Time, the several Magistrates

* I am of the Opinion of those who think that for *ornavit* we ought to read *ordinavit*. *Ornare Magistratus* is indeed a Latin Expression, but bears a Sense quite foreign to any Purpose of our Author,

neque res illustis est populi Rom. quæ non, in eo, suo tempore, sit notata; &, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originum subiecit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propages possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separationem in aliis libris; ut M. Banti rogatu, Juniam familiam à stirpe ad hanc ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans qui, à quo ortus, quos honores, quibusque temporibus cepisset. Pari modo, Marcelli Claudii, de Marcellorum; Scipionis Cornelii, & Fabii Maximi, de Corneliorum, & Fabiorum, & Æmiliorum: quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum. Attigit quoque poetice, credimus, ne ejus expertus esset suavitatis. Namque versibus, qui honore, rerumque gestarum amplitudine cæteros Romani populi præstiterunt, exposuit; ita ut sub singulorum imaginibus, facta magistratusque eorum non ampliùs quaternis quinque versibus describeret; quod vix credendum sit, tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam liber, Græcè confectus, de Consulatu Ciceronis. Hactenus, Attico vivo, edita hæc à nobis sunt.

*gistrates of Rome: There is no Law, nor Peace, nor War, nor illustrious Affair of the Roman People, which is not set down in it, in its proper Time: And what was very difficult, he has so interwoven the Original of Families, that we may learn from thence the Descents of famous Men. He did this same Thing apart in other Books; as, at the Request of M. Brutus, he reckoned up in Order the Junian Family from their Original to this Age, taking Notice of what Offices, and at what Time, every one, and from whom descended, had borne. In like Manner, at the Request of Marcellus Claudius, he enumerated that * of the Marcelli. At the Request of Scipio Cornelius and Fabius Maximus, that of the Cornelij, and the Fabij, and the Æmili: than which Books nothing can be more pleasant to those, who have any Fancy for the Knowledge of famous Men. He likewise had a Touch at Poetry, that he might not be unacquainted with that Pleasure, we suppose. For he has related in Verses, the Lives of those, who excelled the rest of the Roman People in Honour, and the Greatness of their Exploits; so that he has described, under each of their Images, their Actions and Offices, in no more than four or five Verses: which is scarcely to be believed that such great Things could be so briefly delivered. There is likewise a Book of his written in Greek, concerning the Consulship of Cicero.*

CAP.

Thus

* The Preposition *De* should certainly be out, and accordingly some Manuscripts have it not.

*Thus far was published by us,
whilst Atticus was living.*

CAP. XIX. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua persequemur; & quantum poterimus rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, sicut supra significavimus, *Sicis cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam.* Namque hic contentus ordine Equestri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit Imperatoris, Divi Julii filii, cum jam ante familiaritatem ejus esset consecutus nullâ aliâ re, quam elegantia vitæ, quâ ceteros ceperat principes civitatis, dignitate pari, fortuna humiliore. Tanta enim prosperitas Cæsarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam antè detulerat; & conciliavit quod civis Romanus quivis consequi. Nata autem est Attico neptis ex Agrippâ, cui virginem filiam collocarat: Hanc Cæsar, vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Drusillâ nato privigno suo, despondit; quæ conjunctio

CHAP. XIX. Now, since Fortune had a Mind that we should be the Survivors of him, we will go thro' the Remainder of his Life; and, as far as we can, will inform our Readers by Instances of Fact as we have signified above, That every Man's Manners for the most Part make his Fortune. For he being content with the Equestrian Order, from whence he was descended, came into the Alliance of the * Emperor Julius's Son, after he had before gained a Familiarity with him, by nothing else but the Elegance of his Life, by which † he had charmed the other great Men of the City, of equal Quality, but a lower Fortune than Cæsar. For so much Prosperity attended Cæsar, that Fortune gave him every Thing that she had bestowed upon any one before; and procured him all that a Roman Citizen could accomplish. Now Atticus had a Grand-daughter born of Agrippa, to whom he had disposed of his Daughter when a Virgin: Cæsar contracted her, when scarcely a Year old, to T. Claudius Nero,

* I have not thought it worth while to translate *Divus*; it would sound very oddly in our Language to give the Stile of a God to such an ambitious wicked Mortal as Julius Cæsar was. It was a profane stupid Practice amongst the Romans, not to be outdone by any Thing amongst the most barbarous Nations, to rank their Emperors, (unless they were Devils indeed) after their Decease, amongst the Gods. Which continued even some Time after the Emperors became Christians, if Eutropius may be trusted.

† Here I have the Misfortune again to differ very widely from Major Pack. Which of us is mistaken, must be referred to the judgment of the intelligent Reader, that shall think it worth while to compare our Translations with the Original,

junctio necessitudinem eorum ianxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiore.

Nero, born of Drusilla, his Step-Son; which Match established their Friendship, and rendered their familiar Converse more frequent.

CAP. XX. Quamvis ante hæc sponsalia, non solum, cum ab urbe abesset, nunquam ad suorum quenkumque literas misit, quin Attico mitteret, quid ageret; imprimis, quid legeret, quibusque in locis, & quamdiu esset moraturus; sed & cum esset in urbe, & propter suas infinitas occupationes, minus sæpe quam vellet Attico frueretur, nullus dies tamen temerè intercessit, quo non ad eum scriberet, quo non aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret; modo aliquam quæstionem poëticam ei proponeret; interdum jocans ejus verbosio es eliceret epistolas: ex quo accidit, cum ædes Jovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuriâ detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Cæsar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque verò à M. Antonio minus, absens, literis colebatur, adeò ut accuratè ille, ex ultimis terris, quid ageret, quid curæ sibi haberet certior faceret Atticum. Hoc quale sit, faciliùs existimabat is, qui judicare potuit, quantæ sit sapientiæ eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obrestatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere

CHAP. XX. *Altho' before this Match, not only when he was absent from Town, he never sent a Letter to any of his Friends, but he sent one to Atticus, to acquaint him what he was doing; especially what he was reading, and in what Places, and how long he would stay; but also, when he was in Town, and because of his infinite Business, enjoyed Atticus not so oft as he had a Mind, yet no Day scarcely passed, in which he did not write to him, in which he did not make some Enquiry of him relating to Antiquity; sometimes he would propose some poetical Question to him; sometimes jesting would draw from him a long Letter; from whence it happened, when the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built in the Capitol by Romulus, being uncovered thro' Age and Neglect, was coming down, that upon the Admonition of Atticus, Cesar took Care that it was repaired. Nor was he less civilly applied to in Letters by M. Antony, when absent. So that he made Atticus acquainted particularly, from the remotest Parts of the Earth, with what he was doing, what Care he had upon him. How considerable this is, he will more easily imagine, who can judge how great a Point of Wisdom it is to keep the Friendship and Favour of these, betwixt whom there passed not only so great an Emulation upon account of Matters of the*
Antiquity

incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium: cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

CAP. XXI. Tali modo, cum septem & septuaginta annos compleret, atque ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate, quam gratiâ fortunâque crevisset, (multas enim hereditates nullâ alia re, quàm bonitate, esse consecutus) tantâque prosperitate usus esset valetudinis, ut annis triginta medicinâ non indigisset; nactus est morbum, quem initio & ipse & medici contempserunt; nam putarunt esse *catarrh*, cui remedia celeria faciliâque proponebantur: in hoc cum tres menses sine ullis doloribus, præterquam quos ex curatione capiebat, consumpsisset; subito tanta vis morbi in unum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore, per lumbos fistula puris eruperit: atque hoc priusquam ei accideret, postquam in dies dolores accrescere, febremque accessisse sensit, Agrippæ generum ad se acceri iussit, & cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum, sextumque Peducenum. Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum innixus, *Quantum,*

utmost Importance, but a mutual Struggle to lessen one another, as was necessary to happen betwixt Cesar and Antony; whilst each of them desired to be the Prince, not only of the City of Rome, but of the World.

CHAP. XXI. After he had completed, in this Manner, seventy-seven Years, and had advanced no less in Dignity, than in Favour and Fortune, to an extreme old Age, (for he had got several Inheritances by no other Thing than his Goodness) and had such a happy State of Health, that he stood not in need of any Physick for thirty Years together; he contracted a Distemper, which at first both he and his Physicians despised; for they thought it to be * a Tenesmos; for which speedy and easy Remedies were proposed: After he had passed three Months in this Distemper without any Pains, besides what he received from the Method taken for his Cure; on a sudden so great a Violence of the Distemper broke out upon one of his Intestines, that at length, a putrid Fistula broke thro' his Loins: And before this happened to him, after he found that his Pains grew upon him every Day, and that a Fever was superadded to them; he ordered his Son-in-Law Agrippa to be called to him, and with him L. Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducenus. When he saw they were come, leaning upon his Elbow,

* A *Tenesmos* (to use Major Pack's Words) is a violent Motion without a Power of going to stool.

tam, inquit, curam diligentiamque in valetudine mea tuenda hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos testes habeam, nihil necesse pluribus verbis commemorare: quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci, nihilque reliqui feci, quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est, ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi stat alere morbum desinere: Namque his diebus quicquid cibi sumpsi, ita produxi vitam, ut auxerim dolores, sine spe salutis. Quare a vobis peto, primum ut consilium probetis meum; deinde, ne frustra dehortando conemini.

bow, said he, how much Care and Diligence I have employed to restore my Health, since I have you for my Witnesses, there is no need to recount in many Words. Whom since I have satisfied, as I hope, and have left nothing undone that was proper in the Judgment of the Doctors to cure me, it remains that I provide for myself. I had no mind you should be ignorant of it; for my Resolution is fixed, to give over feeding the Distemper: For whatsoever Meat I have taken for some Days, I have so prolonged my Life, that I increased my Pains, without any Hopes of Recovery. Wherefore I beg of you, in the first Place, that you would approve my Resolution; if not, that then you would not labour in vain by dissuading me.

CAP. XXII. Hæc oratione habitâ, tantâ constantiâ vocis atque vultûs, ut non ex vitâ, sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare: cùm quidem Agrippa eum flens, atque osculans, oraret, atque obsecraret, Ne id quod Natura cogeret, ipse quoquæ sibi acceleraret: & quoniam tum quoquæ posset temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret: preces
ejus

CHAP. XXII. *Having made this Speech, with such a Steadiness of Voice and Countenance, that he seemed not to be removing out of Life, but out of one House into another; when Agrippa, weeping and kissing, begged and entreated him, That he would not hasten that which Nature would oblige him to *; and since he might live for some Time longer, that he would save himself for himself, and*
I i *his*

* I have translated the Words *temporibus superesse* by "live some Time longer;" because it seems pretty plain by the Context, the Author intended to say some such Thing; but I look upon the Reading to be faulty; for the Words will not bear that Sense, nor in my Opinion any Sense at all.

ejus taciturnâ suâ obstinatione depressit. Sic, cûm biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subitò febris decessit, leviorque morbus esse cœpit: tamen propositum nihilo seciùs peregit. Itaque die quinto postquam id consilium inierat, pridie Kal. April. Cn. Domitio, C. Sosio COSS. decessit. Elatus est in lecticulâ, ut ipse præscripserat, sine ullâ pompâ funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maximâ vulgi frequentiâ. Sepultus est juxta viam Appiam, ad quintum lapidem, in monumento Q. Cæcili avunculi sui.

his Friends; he put a Stop to his Entreaties, by a silent Obstinacy. Thus, after he had abstained from all Food for two Days, on a sudden his Fever went off, and the Distemper began to be more easy; yet notwithstanding he executed his Purpose. Wherefore upon the fifth Day after he had entered upon that Resolution, the Day before the Calends of April, when Cn. Domitius and C. Sosius were Consuls, he died. He was carried to his Funeral upon a little Couch, as he himself had ordered, without any Pomp of Funeral, all good People attending him, with a great Crowd of the populace. He was buried near the Appian Way†, at the fifth Mile-Stone, in the Monument of Q. Cæcilius his Uncle.*

* The last of *March*, for the first Day of every Month was called the Calends.

† There was in all the great Roads from Rome, set up at every Mile's End, a Stone.



VERBA CORNELIÆ

GRACCHORUM MATRIS,

*Ex CORNELII NEPOTIS Libro
Excerpta.*

ICIS, Pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci: Id neque majus, neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur: sed si liceat rep. salvâ eos persequi: sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore, multisque partibus, inimici nostri non peribunt, atque uti nunc sunt, erunt, potius quàm resp. profligetur atque pereant.

Verbis conceptis dejerare ausim, præterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necârunt, neminem inimicum tantum molestæ, tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res mihi tradidisse; quem oportebat omnium eorum quos antehac habui liberos, partes eorum tolerare, atque curare, ut quam minimum felicitudinis in senectâ haberem, utique quæcumque ageres, ea velles maximè mihi placere, atque uti nefas haberes rerum majorum adversum meam sententiam quicquam facere; præsertim mihi, cui parva pars vitæ superest. Ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin & mihi adveseris, & temp. pr. fliges. Denique quæ pausa erit, & quando desinet familia nostra insanire? & quando modus ei rei haberi poterit? & quando desinemus & haerentes, & præbentes, molestiis desistere? & quando perpudescet miscenda atque perturbanda rep. Sed si omnino id fieri non potest, uoi ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum, scito quod lubebit, cum ego non sentiam: ubi mortua ero parentabis mihi, & invocabis Deum parentem in eo tempore. Nec pudet te eorum Deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque præsentis, relictos atque desertos habueris? Ne ille fiat Jupiter, te ea perseverare, nec tibi tantam dementia venire in animo; & si perseveras, vereor ne omnem vitam tantum laboris culpa tuâ recipias, uti in nullo tempore tutè tibi placere possis.

Ex I Chronicorum Libro.

Homerus & Hesiodus vixerunt ante Romam conditam ann. circiter centum & quinquaginta. *Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 21.*

Ex I. librorum de vitâ Ciceronis.

M. Tullius Cicero tres & viginti annos natus, primum campum iudicii publici egit, Sextumque Roscium parricidii reum defendit. *Gellius, lib. 25. cap. 28.*

Ex II. libro de viris Illustribus.

Carissus, lib. 2. citat vocem subinde. Et ex 15. idem. lib. 1. citat illum modum dicendi, Harum partium. Et ex 16. illa verba, A fratre patruæ rem necessitudinis, sed personam ostendat.

Ex incerto libro de viris Illustribus.

Iussu venustèque admodum reprehendisse dicitur A. Albinum M. Cato. Albinus, qui cum L. Lucullo consul fuit, res Romanas oratione Græcâ scriptavit: In ejus historiæ principio scriptum est ad hanc sententiam: Neminem succensere sibi convenire, si quid in his libris parum compositè, aut minùs eleganter scriptum foret. Nam sum, inquit, homo Romanus, natus in Latio: Græca oratio à nobis alienissima est. Ideoque veniam, gratiamque malæ estimationis, si quid esset erratum, posulavit. Ea cum legisset M. Cato, Næ tu, inquit, Aule, nimium negator es, cum maluisti culpam deprecari, quàm culpâ vacare. Nam petere veniam solemus, aut cum imprudentes erravimus, aut cum compulsi peccavimus. Tibi, inquit, oro te, quis perpulit, ut id committeres, quod priusquam faceres, peteres ut ignosceretur? *Gellius, lib. 11. cap. 8.*

Archilochus Tulo Hostilio Romæ regnante jam tunc fuit poematis clarus & nobilis. Idem, lib. 17. cap. 21.

Ex libris Exemplorum.

A virgine Vestali. *Hoc citat Carissus, lib. 1. ex. 2. Exemplorum libro.*

Multis in senatu placuit, ut ii, qui redire nolent, datis custodibus, ad Annibalem deducerentur, sed ea sententia numero plurium, quibus id non videbatur, superata est; ii tamen, qui ad Annibalem non redierunt, usque adeo inextinguibiles, invisique fuerunt, ut tædium vitæ ceperunt, necemque sibi consciverint. *Gellius, lib. 7. cap. 18. ex. 5. Exemplorum libro.*

Ex incerto libro.

Ædes Martis est in circo Flaminio architectata ab Hermodoro Salaminio. *Priscianus, lib. 8.*

Eudoxus

Eudoxus quidam meâ ætate, cum Lathyrem Regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressus, Gades usque pervectus est *Plinius, lib. 11. cap. 67.*

Latitudinis ubi minimum, septem millia passuum; ubi verò plurimum, decem millia. *Plinius, in Proœmia, lib. 3.*

Melpum, opulentia præcipuum, ab Insucribus, & Boiis, & Senonibus, deletum est eo die quo Camillus Veios cepit. *Idem Plinius, libri ejusdem, cap. 17.*

Itro in Adriam effluenti è Danubio amne ex adverso Padî fauces, contrario eorum percussu, mari interjecto, dulcescente. *Plinius, libri ejusdem, cap. 18.*

Alpes in latitudinem C. M. *Idem, lib. ejusdem, cap. 19.*

Cerne insula abest ex adverso maximè Carthaginis à continente passus mille, non amplior circuitu duobus millibus. *Idem, lib. 6. cap. 31.*

Post accipitrem, præcipua auctoritas fuit lupo, & asellis. *Idem, lib. 9. cap. 18.*

Me juvene violacea purpura vigebat, cujus libra denariis C. veniebat, nec multò post rubra Tarentina. Huic successit dibapha Tyria, quæ in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. Hâc P. Lentulus Spinther, Ædilis Curulis primus, in pretextâ usus, improbatur. Quâ purpurâ quis non jam triclinaria facit? *Idem, lib. 19. cap. 19.*

Turdi paulò ante Augusti principatum cœpti saginari. Ciconiæ magis placent, quàm grues. *Idem, lib. 10. cap. 23.*

Magnitudo Loti arboris brevit. *Idem, lib. 23. cap. 17.*

Vinum exprimitur illi simile mulso, quod ultra denos dies non durat, baccæque contusæ cum alicâ ad cibos doliis conduntur. *Idem, Plinius, ibidem.*

Scandula contestâ fuit Roma ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, annis quadringentis septuaginta. *Idem, lib. 16. cap. 10.*

Ante Syllæ victoriam duo tantum triclinia Romæ fuerunt argentea. *Idem, lib. 33. cap. 11.*

Cleophantas Corinthius secutus est in Italiam Demaratum Tarquinii Prisci Romani Regis patrem, fugientem à Corintho injurias Cypsellii tyranni. *Idem, lib. 35. cap. 3.*

Primus Romæ parietes crullâ marmoris operuit totius domus suæ in Cœlio monte Mamurra. Formiis natus, eques Romanus, præfectus fabrorum C. Cæsaris in Galliâ. *Idem, lib. 36. cap. 6.*

Mamurra primus totis ædibus nullam nisi è marmore columnam habuit, omnes solidas è Carystio, aut Lunensi. *Idem, Plinius, ibidem.*

Fuit magno miraculo, cum P. Lentulus Spinther amphoras ex onyche Chiorum magnitudine eorum ostendisset; post quinquennium deinde triginta duorum pedum longitude vidi. *Idem, libri ejusdem, cap. 7.*



I N D E X

In CORN. NEPOTEM

SELECTISSIMUS.

In quo primus numerus notat Vitam: Secundus, Caput.

A

***** Fundamentis disjicere,
 * A * ex *Deperitior funditus*,
 * 20. 3.

***** A puero, inde à pueri-
 tia. 5. 2.

A stirpe, ab initio familiae & cri-
 gine, 25. 18.

Ab tenui initio, occasione & operi
 tam parvo, 16. 2.

Abdere se in Thraciam, 7. 9. *Ve-
 luti in sinum securitatis. De eo qui
 suam fortunam occubere studet.*

Abest à personâ Principis, non de-
 cet, non convenit, 15. 1. ab in-
 vidia, remedium esse ab *abstrac-
 tionibus invidiae*. 12. 3. ab Urbe,
peregrinè esse, 25. 20

Abripere, intercipere, 14. 4.

Abripi, de iis qui ex solo patrio in
 aliam trajiciuntur, 1. 4.

Accedere ad manum, cellatis signis
 dimicare, 18. 5.

Accedere ad Remp. capessere rem-
 pullicam, 9. 1.

Accipere conditionem, id quod of-
 fertur, 14. 8.

Acceptus malè, qui praelio fufus,
 18. 8.

Acer, ἐξέθυστος, irritabilis, 13.
 3.

Acerba mors, luctuosa, tanquam,
prematura, 5. 4.

Acerbitas, rigor, 10. 6.

Acerbitas temporis pristini, in-
digna prist. t. illata, 7. 6.

Acerbius imperium, crudelitas,
 18. 6.

Acherus. Ab Acherunte redimere,
ab inferis & sepulchro, 10. 10.

Acquiescere, significatur de morte
tantam laboriosam sequutâ, 23.
 15.

Adducere aliquem alicui in suspi-
 cionem, suspectum reddere, 23. 2.
 adduci precibus alicujus, per-
 moveri, 10. 2.

Adhibere memoriam contumeliae,
et adulationem uti, 15. 7. in con-
 vivium, sicum ducere, praef.

Adimantus, 7. 7.

Adire ad, 7. 7.

Adjungere, addere iis quæ dicta,
 15. 10.

Aditum venire, 20. 2.

Adjutor datur, Collega gerendi bel-
 li, 9. 4.

Admetus Rex. Moles 2. 8.

Administare

- Administare bellum, *de duce qui gerit bellum*, 12. 2. Legationes, 10. 1. 4.
- Admirari quem, *venerationem not.* 10. 2. *sic* admiratio, *pro reverentiâ*, 11. 3. admirabile fuit in eo, *insigne ad gloriam*, 17. 17.
- Admirandi in Italiâ Hispaniisque, 24. 3.
- Admittere ad se domum, 20. 1. admittere quid, *agendum suscipere*, 25. 15. admitteres scelus, *perpetrare*, 15. 16.
- Admitti, *propria vox de admissionibus principum* 4. 9. *hinc de magistro admissionum a; ad Persas mentio*, 18. 1. *in numerum prefectorum*, 6. 1.
- Adolescens, *de quadragenario*, 25. 8. *ita solebant Romani*, apud Suet. Aug. 20. *de triginta annos habente*, admodum adolescentulus, 22. 1. adolescentiâ iniens, 7. 2. adolescentiæ initium, 5. 1.
- Adorior oppugnare, 8. 2. *ut aliàs, Aggredior hoc facere, conatum cum effectu notat.* Adoriri Dodonani, *de conatu corrumpendi sacerdotes Dodonæos*, 6. 3.
- Adrumetum, 23. 6.
- Adscikus lepor, *opponitur nativo*, 25. 4.
- Adversum tenere proficiscentibus, *de vento qui proficiscentibus flatu est contrarius. qui contrâ spirat*, 1. 1. adversum Athenas è regione, 2. 3. ex adverso.
- Adversus arma ferre, 17. 4. adversus resistere, 16. 1.
- Adversaria alicui, *dediffensione*, 20. 2.
- Adversarius, *de eo qui factionem comparat*, 10. 7. Adversarius populus, *hâc voce notatur το φιλαίτιον, sive adversandi premendique superiores libido*, 13. 3. Adversarii obtrectatores, *emuli*, 15. 7. qui accusant in iudicio, 2. 4. adversaria factio, 6. 1.
- Advocare concionem, 7. 6.
- Ædes Jovis Feretrii, 25. 20. Minervæ, 4. 5. Proserpinæ, 10. 8.
- Ædium locus primus, *πρότερον*, præf.
- Ædificare classem, 2. 2. Ædificator, *qui fixato ædificandi ducitur*, 25. 13.
- Ædilis plebis, *ad differentiam Ædilium Curulium & Cerealis*, 24. 1.
- Ægæ, plur. *Maced.* oppid. 21. 2.
- Ægates insula, 22. 1.
- Æger vulncribus, 1. 7.
- Ægos, *fluv.* 6. 1. & 7. 8.
- Ægyptus, 18. 3. Ægyptia Classis, 12. 2. Ægyptiorum munera
- Ageshlao missa, 17. 8.
- Æmilius, L. Paulus, occisus, 25. 4.
- Æmulari aliquem, *contendere de gloriâ cum aliquo*, 15. 5.
- Æneæ statuæ, 23. 9.
- Æolia, 9. 5.
- Æolis, 1. 3.
- Æqualis alicui, vel alicujus *οἷς ἕξο-* 165. 3. 1.
- Æquè bene, 23. 4.
- Equiparare aliquem labore, corporis viribus, 7. 11.
- Æquus locus non æquus aliqui, *incemmatius*, 1. 5.
- Æquitas, *de civiti formato statu*, 1. 2. animi, *modicis scil. beneficiis contenti*, 8. 4.
- Æris terna millia, *scutati triginta*, 25. 13. *æris terna millia sunt 3000 assium. Si amittas æris, subaudi nummum, ut sint 90 scutati, que verisimilior summa*, Manut.
- Æstimare. Æstimata lis ejus tot. talentis, 1. 7. 5. 1. *Damnatus tot talentis; intelligitur enim ipsa pecunia mulctatitia, æstimatione dilecti decreta. Hinc addit noster*, 1. 7. *tot talentis æstimatam Militiadis litem, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat.*
- Ætas militaris, 17. annor. 24. 1. extrema, *senectus*, 24. 2. 25. 10. ætas extrema *imperatorum, ultimi*

- timium imperatores erant*, 13. 4.
ætatis vacatio, immunitas à bello, 25. 7.
Afferre deformitatem, addere, 17.
 8. manus alicui, *de interfectione*, 20. 1.
Afflicere aliquem morbo, 23. 4.
Afluens, abundans, 25. 13.
Africanæ possessiones, qui in Africa, 25. 11.
Agere causam populi, studere democratiæ, 19. 3. *egit nihil aliud quàm ut, περιφρασις magnæ contentionis & studii*, 23. 10.
Agésilæus Lacedæm. R. 17. 1.
Aggredi, impugnare, 14. 9. *hōitem, bello persequi*, 2. 4.
Agis Rex Lacedæm. 17. 1.
Agnonides lycophanta, 12. 3.
Ager Troas, 4. 3.
Agellus, de tenui posses. 19. 1.
Agrippa, M. Vipsianus, 25. 12.
Ala equitum, 18. 1. *Alæ dictæ exercitus equitum ordines, quòd circum legiones dextrâ sinistrâque, tanquam alæ in avium corporibus locubantur.* Cincius apud Gell. 16. 4.
Alcibiades, 7. 1.
Alcmæon matricida, 15. 6.
Alere morbum, fovere, 25. 21.
Nolo ali eorum luxuriam, i. e. instrumenta suppeditari luxui, 19. 1 *ali publicè, publicâ sustentatione*, 3. 3.
Alexander M. Babylone moritur, 18. 2. 21. 2.
Alexander Pheræus, Tyran. 16. 5.
Alienum non videtur, intempestivum, ἀσκοπον, 1. 6. *alienari timore ab aliquo, favorum timore in odium mutare*, 7. 5. *alienatæ insulæ, que defecerant*, 5. 2.
Altera persona, unus ex duobus, quibus respublica plurimum debet; additur, secunda tamen. ut referatur ad superiorem & primam, 16. 4. *altero tanto longior*, 18. 8.
Ambitûs largitiones, captatoriæ, conationes in ambiendis, per malas artes, honoribus; id enim ambitus voce notatur, 25. 6.
Amici, adjutores rerum gerendarum, 18. 12.
Amicos tueri, opibus officioque adesse eis, 15. 3.
Amicitia, pro societate, 15. 6.
Amittere animam, 15. 9. *optimates, eorum favorem*, 10. 7.
Ἀμυνσία, 8. 3.
Ammon. cognom. Jovis, 6. 3.
Anceps percipulum, utrinque hosti. 2. 3. *incipites loci*, 14. 7.
Andocides, 7. 3.
Androcles Magnes. 14. 5.
Anicia, 25. 2.
Anima, pro vita, 23. 1.
Animadvertere, pro considerare, 15. 16. *conspicari*, 16. 5. *animadversa varietas fortunæ, observata*, 13. 4.
Animatæ bene insulæ, in obsequio manentes, oppon. alienatæ, 5. 2.
Animus, pro fiducia constantiæque, 1. 4. *maximus, pro fiducia sui constantiæque*, 10. 5. *animo isto esse, id consilii habere*, 18. 11. *animo bono facere, proposito non scelesto*, 17. 6. *æquo ferre, sine indignatione*, 19. 6. *sine obtræctione*, 25. 1.
Annus vertens, totus, cujus scilicet cursus natura vertitur eodem unde incipit, 17. 4.
Ante illum Imperatorem, antequam ille esset Imperator, 11. 1.
Anteferre bello pacem, bellum deponere, pace mutare, 15. 5. *religionem iræ, illius respectu huic frænos imponere*, 17. 4.
Antigonus in prælio cadit, 21. 3.
Antipater, 18. 2.
Antiquitatis notitia in quibus, 25. 18.
Antistare alicui, præstare, 3. 1.
Antistitis Jovis, Sacerdotes, 6. 3.
Antonius hostis judicatus cedit Italiâ, 25. 9.

- Apenninus mons, 23. 4.
 Aperire, *ostendere, declarare*, 10.
 6. aperit se res ipsa, 4. 3. apertum est mihi, *scil.* 9. 5. apertum fuit, *apparuit re ipsâ*, 9. 2.
 Apollo, 1. 1.
 Apophlegmata Epaminondæ, 15. 5.
 Apparare, *moliri*, 18. 2.
 Apparatus, *de operibus πολιορκητικῶς*, 18. 5. *regius, de cultu*, 4. 3.
 Apparare alicui, *ministrare, pro honoratiore cultu*, 18. 13. apparere, *clarè cognosci*, 14. 1.
 Appellatus est, ut vellet, *compellatus, rogatus*, 25. 8.
 Appetere majores res, *de incivili elatione*, 4. 2.
 Appiâ viâ, 25. 22.
 Apprimè bonus, 25. 13.
 Apuliâ, 23. 4.
 Aram tenent, *qui jurant*, 23. 2.
 Aræ Paci factæ, 13. 2.
 Arbitrium, *electio*, 9. 4. arbitrio alicujus rem permittere, *trac-tationem rei penitus committere*, 22. 1. omnia geruntur, *de summo imperio*, 9. 2. arbitrio ejus fit, 3. 3.
 Arcadia, 7. 10.
 Archias, 16. 3.
 Ardeatinum prædium, 25. 14.
 Arete, 10. 1.
 Argi, *pl. oppid.* 21. 2.
 Argilius, 4. 4.
 Arguere, *crimini dare*, 7. 7. argui crimine, *convinci*, 4. 3.
 Arideus, 14. 6.
 Ariobarzanes, 14. 2.
 Aristides justus cognom. 2. 1.
 Aristomache, 10. 1.
 Arma pedestria, *quibus pedites, utuntur*, 11. 1. arma abicere noluit Chabrias, *metu flagitii militaris*, 12. 4. arma capere, *armari in hostem*, 14. 4. conferre cum aliquo, *dimicare*, 18. 3. ferre contra aliquem, *esse in diversis partibus*, 25. 4.
 Armare aliquem, *ad arma insi-gare*. 23. 10. armare se imprudentiâ alterius, *suis consiliis ab imprudentia alterius robur mutuari*, 13. 8.
 Armatura levis, *hoc est, milites levis armaturæ*, 14. 8.
 Armenii, *ibid.*
 Armillæ aureæ, 14. 3.
 Aripere celeriter quæ traduntur, *de solertiâ ingenii*, 25. 1.
 Ars nova, *singulare quoddam, ad rem agendam εὐρημα*, 1. 5.
 Artabanus Xerxem interfecit, 21. 1.
 Artemisium, promontorium Eubœæ, 2. 3.
 Artifices, quos cultus domesticus desiderat, 25. 13. *ad voluptatem & lucrum locata eorum opera; sunt autem ejusmodi servorum nomina*, Gladiatores, Agitatores, Funambuli, Palæstri-tæ, Pictores, &c.
 Accendere gradum eum, *ad eum honorem*, 19. 2.
 Adsciscere civitatem, *jus civitatis, civem fieri*. 25. 3.
 Asia, 1. 3. succubuit Europæ, *hoc est, Asiatica vis (Persarum) Europeis Græcorum) viribus succubuit*, 2. 5.
 Aspendii, 14. 8.
 Aspis, *Cataoniæ dynastes*, 14. 4.
 Assecla Prætoris, *de legato ejus*, 25. 6.
 Astu, *vel Asti*, Græcum ἄστυ, *urbs, oppidum; de Athenis peculiariter*, 2. 4.
 Athamanes, 13. 2.
 Athenæ civitas clarissima, 8. 2. Lacedæmoniis serviunt, 7. 9.
 Attendere animum ad cavendum, 7. 5.
 Atticus, *T. Pomponius*. 25. 1.
 Attingere poëticen, *aliquid operæ in illo studio ponere*, 25. 18. *regionem, eo pervenire*, 10. 5.
 Auctoritas est in illo, 13. 3. ejus est in hoc magna, *ipsius auctoritati magnopere creditur*, 6. 4.
 K k auctoritate

auctoritate alicujus moveri,
scil. ad habendam fidem, 9. 4.
 Audiens dicto duci, 11. 2.
 Aversus, *corpore verso*, 14. 11.
 Avertere puppes, *de recedentibus*,
 23. 11.
 Augeri, agro urbibus augeri,
donari locupletari, 13. 1.
 Aurelius, C. *Coff.* 23. 7.
 Αὐρηαρία *Dea* nomen. 20. 4.
 Autophradates, Lydie Satrapes,
 14. 2.

B.

Babylon, 18. 2.
 Bageus, 1. 10.
 Balbus, L. Cornelius, 25. 31.
 Barcus cognom. Hamilcaris, 22.
 1.
 Beatus, homo non beatissimus,
non admodum instructus copiis rei
familiaris, 17. 18.
 Bellum Ægyptium, 14. 3. Civile
 Cæsarianum, 25. 7. Corcyrae-
 um, 2. 2. Corinthium, 17. 5.
 Peloponnesiacum, 7. 3. 8. 1.
 Persicum, 2. 2. Punicum I.
 22. 1. II. 22. 4. III. 24. 5.
 Sociale, 11. 3. Troicum, 14.
 2. Hannibalis bella quis scrip-
 ferit, 25. 13. intestinum, 22.
 2. navale, 2. 2. delere, *elegant-*
er de subito & *insperato sine*
imposito hostibus impetu oppressis,
 7. 8. ducere per mare gerere,
 ibid. facere alicui, *intirre*, 10.
 4. parare alicui, *comparare ad-*
versus, 7. 9.
 Bene meriti, qui nobis beneficia
 contulere, 18. 6.
 Benivolentia, pro pignoribus &
documentis benev. 7. 6.
 Benignitas, de praesito auxilio,
 20. 2.
 Bithyoni, 23. 11.
 Buxorii bellum indicunt Lacedae-
 moniis, 9. 2.
 Bonus civis, *significanter de eo qui*
habitus statumque civilis amans.

officiis civilibus servit, 11. 3.
 Cognomen in virtutis honorem,
 19. 1. bono animo facere, *con-*
silio non scelesto, 17. 6.
 Bonitas, pro aquitate civilis im-
 perii, 1. 8.
 Borni, castelli nomen, 7. 7.
 Brutus potens, 25. 8. interit, 25.
 11.
 Byzantium expugnatum, 4. 2.

C.

CAdere, *de morte bellica propriè*,
 4. 1. cadit majestas, *ever-*
titur imperium, 16. 2. res cadit
 præter opinionem, *h. e. evenit*,
 1. 2. cadere in suspicionem
 cujus, *suspectum fieri*, 4. 2.
 Cadmea, *arx Thebana*, 15. 10.
 Caduceus, *αἰγυρεὶον*, 23. 11.
 Cadusii, inter mare Caspium &
 Pontum sita gens, 14. 1.
 Cæcilius, Q. eques Romanus,
 25. 5.
 Cælo vesperscente, 16. 2.
 Cæremonia summa colitur hoc
 sacrarium, *sanctitas religione*
inviolabilis notatur, 2. 8.
 Cæsar (Julius) occisus, 25. 8.
 Cæsar (Octavius) 25. 12.
 Cæsarianum Civile bellum, inter
 Cæsarem & Pompeium, 25. 7.
 Calidius, L. Julius Poeta, 25. 12.
 Callias, 5. 1.
 Callicrates, 10. 8.
 Callidus vir, qui consilio pollet, 14.
 10. callida liberalitas, *quæ non*
honesti studio, sed tempori datur,
 & *utilitati*, 25. 11. callidissime
 conjicere de futuris, *perspica-*
cissime, & *providentissime*, 2. 1.
 Calliphron, saltator, 15. 2.
 Callistratus, 15. 6.
 Canissares, 14. 1.
 Canere, *vox propria de Oraculis*,
varius, poetis, 25. 16.
 Canius, 25. 10.
 Cannensis pugna, *apud Cannas*,
pugnata, 23. 5.

Capere,

- Capere arma, *ad pugnam instruere se armis*, 14. 4.
 Capere locum, *occupare*, 17. 6. capi-
 pi. humanitate alicujus, *affici*,
delectari, 25. 4.
 Capessere remp. *Cic. accedere ad*
remp. de gerendis Magistratibus,
 2. 2.
 Caput Græciæ, *urbs domina*, impe-
 rans *cæteris*, 15. 10. capitis ab-
 solvi, *de reo capitis, cui vita con-*
ceditur, 1. 7.
 Capitulatim, *summatim perstricta*,
 24. 2.
 Cappadocia Eumeni data, 18. 2.
 Captiani, *Schot. legend. conjicit*
Caspiani. 14. 3.
 Capua, 23. 5.
 Cardianus, *ab urbe Cardia*, 18. 1.
 Car, 14. 1.
 Caria, 27. 3.
 Cassander, 18. 13. Macedonia pel-
 litur, 19. 3.
 Cassius floret, 25. 8. interit, 25. 11.
 Castrum, *munitus muro locus*, 7. 9.
ejus diminut. Castellum, castel-
 lum Hannibalis, 23. 12.
 Castramovere, 14. 8. Castra alicu-
 jus sequi, *militare apud aliquem*,
 24. 1.
 Casus, *acerba fortuna*, 7. 6. casu-
 bus agi, *varietate, scil. tempo-*
rum eventuumque, 29. 5.
 Cataonia, 14. 4.
 Cato, 17. annor. stipendium me-
 ruit, 24. 1.
 Catullus, *poëta elegantiss.* 25. 12.
 Causa, Causam capitis dicere, *in*
judicio capitali pro se verba fa-
cere, 11. 14. causam interpo-
 nere, *causari, prætextu uti*, 2. 7.
 Cedere, *præbere se necessitati, non*
reluctari, 3. 1. auctoritati alicu-
 jus, *propter auctoritatem*, 13. 3.
 Celebritas, *frequentia*, præf.
 Cenforinus, 24. 1.
 Centenius prætor cadit. 23. 4.
 Cœraunus, *cognom. Ptolemæi*, 21.
 3.
 Certamen de principatu, *amu-*
latio, 2. 6.
 Certa dies, *præstituta*, 12. 3.
 Chabrias Athen. 12. 3.
 Chalcicæcus, *Templum Minervæ,*
Lacædem. q. d. Domus venæ,
aliquando in cognomen Dædæ transf.
 4. 5.
 Chalcis, *urbs Eubææ*, 13. 3.
 Chaones *pars Epirotarum*, 12. 3.
 Chares Athenis honoratus, *ibid.*
 Charon, *Theb.* 16. 2.
 Chersonesus, *scil. Thraciæ penin-*
sula, 1. 1.
 Chius, *insula*, 12. 4.
 Cicero, *M. Tullius*, æqualis At-
 tici, 25. 1.
 Cilices, 14. 8.
 Cilicia, 14. 7.
 Cimon, 5. 1.
 Cinnanus tumultus, 25. 2.
 Circulus, *cæcus vulgo cœcutium ac*
fabulantium, qui, collatis capiti-
buz, videntur veluti orbem fa-
cere, 15. 3.
 Citari victorem, *voce præconis de-*
clari, præf.
 Citerior Hispania, *Tarracensis*
provincia, 24. 2.
 Citharizare, *canere cithara*, 15. 2.
 Citium, *oprid.* 5. 3.
 Civilis victoria omnis funesta, 15.
 10. civiles fluctus, *de bellis civil.*
 15. 6.
 Civitas aliena, *de eo usurp. qui alic-*
nigena, 18. 1.
 Clandestina consilia, *occulta mol-*
itio, 23. 2.
 Claritas, *celebritas*, 18. 3.
 Classarii, *militis class.* 1. 7.
 Clastidium, *oppid.* 23. 4.
 Clava, *in venatorio habitu penitur*,
 14. 3.
 Claudere hostiis angustias, 14. 3.
 Claudius, *M. Cof.* 23. 7.
 Clementiam violare, *facere quod*
clementiæ officio sit indignum, 7. 10.
 Cleon. Halicarnassicus, 6. 3.
 Cnidus, *Is.* 9. 4.
 K k 2 Coarguere

- Coarguere tyrannidem cuius, *eum exprobratione tyrannidis convincere*, 15. 6.
- Coercere manibus procacitatem alicujus, *punire pariter ac inhibere*, 20. 4.
- Cogitare callidè, *de agitatione animi*, 14. 8.
- Coire, *conspirare*, 16. 2.
- Colere sacellum, *de cultu religioso, in sacello fieri solito*, 20. 4. coli literis aliquo, *de commercio epistularum familiarium*, 25. 20.
- Collabeferi ab aliquo, *eleganti metaph. signific. dignitate veluti suâ pelli*, 3. 1.
- Collegæ, *sc. gerend. bell. in imperio militari*, 7. 3.
- Colligere manum, *copias*, 7. 7.
- Collis Quirinalis, 25. 13.
- Colloqui per internuncios, 7. 5.
- Commeatus, *annonæ sub-vectio*, 1. 7.
- Commendare alicui regnum, *designare successorem*, 18. 2.
- Cominus pugnare, 12. 4.
- Commoda, *Adversus commodâ populi stetisse, pro crimine majestatis*, 19. 4.
- Commoditatem consequi, *emolumentum*, 25. 9.
- Commovere se non sunt ausi, *de nefariâ molitione*, 17. 6. commoveri, *exercitari ad rem accuratius agendam*, 14. 7. commoveri novare *perturbare*, 14. 6.
- Commutatio rerum, *fortunæ statusque imperii ac belli*, 7. 5.
- Comparare iter ad regem, *de destinatione itineris*, 7. 10. milites ad resistendum, *instruere*, 14. 4.
- Compellare aliquem fratricidam, *increpare*, 20. 1.
- Completa sunt tot millia, *b. c. effecta*, 1. 5.
- Componere bellum, *pacem facere*, 22. 1.
- Composito, *de compaeto*, 14. 6.
- Comprimere preces, *inhibere*, 25. 22.
- Conari, *ipsum actum notat, non rem effectui dare*, 14. 7.
- Conata perficere, *destinata*, 10. 8.
- Conciliator nuptiarum, *pararius, προξεντης*, 25. 12.
- Concinnus, 15. 5.
- Concio populi, *de judicio publico*, 2. 2.
- Concludere uno volumine, *complecti*, 15. 4.
- Concupiscere majora, *de molitionibus elatorum, qui suâ conditione non contenti, ambitiosè res novas quærunt*, 4. 1.
- Concurrere ad opprimendum certatim operam conferre, 18. 3. in navem regis, *velut agmine factâ adoriri*, 25. 10.
- Concurfus, *de conflictu præl.* 11. 1. *concurfus studio spectandi*, 14. 3.
- Concutere opes alicujus, *labefactare potentiam*, 15. 6.
- Condiscipulatus, 25. 5.
- Conditio æqua versuræ, *copia, æqua facultas*, 25. 2.
- Conductitiæ caterve, *de mercenariis militibus, qui domestico opponuntur delectui*, 12. 1.
- Conferre factâ clar. virorum, *comparare*, 23. 3.
- Conficere aliquem, *debellare*, 6. 1.
- Confidere, *plus quam sperare*, 1. 1.
- Confirmare quid, *fidem rei facere*, 14. 11. confirmare regnum, *stabilire*, 1. 3.
- Congruere sententiæ Deorum, *ad illam accommodari*, 6. 3.
- Conjicere, *divinare de futuris*, 2. 1. conjicere se in sacrum, *illuc confugere, securitatis gratiâ*, 2. 8.
- Conon egregius mari bellator, 9. 1.
- Conscripti patres, 23. 12. *de Senatu Romano usurpatur, qui tantquam solenni titulo ita compellari solebat*.
- Consectari, *cum studio & labore prosequendo conquirere*, 2. 4.
- Consentire, *conspirare*, 14. 5. *globus consensionis, conspirantium*, 25. 8.
- Consequi aliquid, *perficere*, 24. 10. *consequuta*

consequuta est eum magna prosperitas, *h. e. magnam adeptus prosperitatem*, 25. 19.
 Conservare simulacra, aras, honorem earum, & jus tuendi supplices non imminuere, 17. 4.
 Consilii mei non est, *h. e. iudicii & arbitrii in eligendo*, 9. 4. in consilium dari, *de adiutoribus datis*, 13. 3.
 Consistere, *de acie instructa*, 11. 2.
 Constituere urbem, *desertam ever-samque de integro condere, incolis & rep. formare*, 15. 1.
 Constituere quantum quisque daret *de arbitrio, iudicio, consilio*, 3. 3.
 Consuevit hoc sanctum esse apud, *consuetudine quâdam religio rei apud omnes servata est*, 16. 5.
 Consuetudo regum, *ingenium*, 14. 5.
 Consulere malè patriæ, *utilitates ejus negligere*, 15. 10. noxam asserre, 19. 2. consultum mittere, *sc. ad Apollinem*, 2. 2.
 Consul quinquies, *sol. quintum*, 23. 5.
 Consumere tot menses in morbo, *tam diu ægrotare*, 25. 21. consumi morbo, *interire*, 21. 2.
 Contendere, *affirmare*, 15. 8. quò contenderat, *h. e. quo cursum direxerat*, 13. 3.
 Contineri hospitio alicujus, *esse inter eos, qui fœdere hospitii cum aliquo sunt conjuncti*, 6. 1.
 Continens, *opponitur aquis*, 1. 6. *εὐχρατὴς*, 15. 3.
 Contrahere classem, *comparare*, 9. 4.
 Convenit hoc inter illos, *pacti sunt de hoc*, 4. 4.
 Convivæ, *quales vocandi*, 25. 14. convivio uxores Romani adhibebant, Græci non item, *præf.*
 Corcyræum bellum, 2. 2.
 Corinthus à Tyranno liberata, 20. 1.
 Cornelius, *L. Cos.* 23. 8.
 Coronâ aureâ Romanis à Carthag. legatis donatur, 23. 3.
 Coronæ, *urbs Bætiæ*, 17. 4.

Corripere partes omnium, *omnium potentiam ad se trahere*, 18. 2.
 Corrumperè Delphos, *jacerdotes Oraculi Delphici*, 6. 3.
 Cotta, *L. Cos.* 25. 4.
 Cotus Rex Thraciæ, 11. 3.
 Craterus, 18. 2.
 Crimessius, *fluvi.* 20. 2.
 Culleus, *saccus inter vasa militaria, trajiciendo amni*, 18. 8.
 Cultus domesticus, *usus familiaris*, 15. 13.
 Cupiditas, *vehementior impetus animi cupientis*, 18. 6. cupidè eluboro, *vehementer studeo*, 13. 1.
 Curare præceptum, *efficere*, 18. 8.
 Cyclades insulæ, 1. 2.
 Cyme, 7. 7.
 Cyprii, 5. 2.
 Cyprus, *Ins.* 4. 2.
 Cyrenæ, *urbs Lybiæ*. 17. 8.
 Cyrus, 7. 9.
 Cyzicum, 13. 1.

D.

Damnari hoc timore, *ob eum populi timorem*, 2. 8.
 Damon, *musculus*, 15. 2.
 Dare fidem, *jurare*, 23. 1. fidem de re, *super re*, 14. 10. manus, *dictum se confiteri*, 22. 1. operam honoribus, *capessere honores*, 24. 1. vela ventis, *de navibus in altum provectis*, 23. 8. veniam, *annuere pestulatis*, 2. 10. crimini, *arguere*, 15. 8. se, *in gratiam alicujus facere*, 25. 9. soporem, *pro med camento seporifero*, 10. 2.
 Darius, *Perf. R. contra Scythas* 1. 3. Ochus, 7. 5. Hytaspis filius, 21. 1.
 Datames, 14. 1.
 Datis, 1. 4.
 Dea Pax, 13. 2.
 Debitum naturæ reddere, *mori*, 21. 1.
 Decedere, *mori*, 3. 3. decedere morte

- morte ex conspectu hominem, *de morte voluntariâ*, 20. 1.
- Decelia, *oppid.* 7. 4.
- Decernere cum aliquo, *dimicare, configere*, 23. 4. decernere alicui statuas, *decreto publico conferre*, 1. 6.
- Declarare, *documentum dare*, 11. 3.
- Decurrere in spatio, *ac equis exerceri cursu solitis*, 18. 5.
- Deducere secum aliquem, *sibi adsciscere comitem*, 25. 4. deducere aliquem à victu pristino, *demonstrare, abstrahere*, 10. 4.
- Deesse alicui, *in judicio non defendere*, 13. 4. nullus honor huic defuit, *circumlocutio honoratissimi*, 20. 3.
- Deferre Senatui, *exponere, referre*, 23. 12.
- Degredi à suis, *longius procehi*, 16. 5.
- Delectus novi, *de militibus recens lectis*, 23. 6.
- Deleri, *dicuntur hostes penitus fugati*, 4. 1.
- Deliberare, *oraculum consulere*, 2. 2.
- Delphi, *urbs*, 1. 1. pro Oraculo Delphico, 6. 3. Delphicus Deus, *Apollo*, 4. 5.
- Delus, *Inf. commune Græciæ ærarium*, 3. 3.
- Demades Athenas tradi cupit Antipatro, 19. 2.
- Demænetus, *potulans homo*, 20. 4.
- Demergere, *de fortunâ deprimere*, 10. 6.
- Demetrius, *Antig. Fil. perit in custodia*, 21. 3. Phalereus, 1. 6.
- Deprecari pericula amicorum, *ne illos attingant*, 15. 12.
- Deprimere naves, *demergere*, 9. 4.
- Depugnare, *prælium committere*, 2. 4.
- Dercylus, *Antipatri præfectus*, 19. 2.
- Desperatis rebus provinciarum, *cui erant essent provinciæ*, 25. 8.
- Desistui ab aliquo, *de rejectis precibus, negatoque auxilio*, 7. 5.
- Deterior peditatu, *inferior*, 11. 3.
- Detestans compellabat impium, *detestabatur & vocabat imp.* 20. 1.
- Detrahere de aliquo, *de invidiosâ & obtestatoriâ depreffione*, 12. 3.
- Detrahere aliquid multæ, *minuere multum*, 13. 4.
- Devia itinera, *occulta & insueta*, 18. 3.
- Devincere virtutem alicujus, *deprimere, inutilem reddere*, 23. 1.
- Devocare, 5. 4. *est vocare ad cænam*.
- Devovere aliquem, *de publico devotionis ritu*, 7. 4.
- Dextra, *fidei pignus*, 2. 8.
- Dianæ templum, *apud Gortynios*, 23. 9.
- Dicere causam capitis, *in judicio capitali pro se respondere & verba facere*, 7. 4. dicere pro se, *sc. in judicio*, 1. 7. dicendo valere, *hæc vox propriè eloquentiam notat & artem*, 7. 1.
- Dictator Fabius, 23. 5. *quia dicendo creabatur*. Dictator, *summa potestas, & à regno non nisi tempore differens*.
- Dictum, dicto audiens alicui, *obediendi signif.* 6. 1.
- Dies supremus, *mors*, 7. 10. dies induciarum, *scil. ultimus*, 17. 3. in diem emere, *ut solvas post aliquod tempus*, 25. 9.
- Differre in crastinum, *rejicere*, 16. 3.
- Differtur rumor, *dispargitur*, 10. 10.
- Dignus memoriâ, *celebrari dignus ad posteros*, 13. 4.
- Dignitas Regia, *non auctoritatem modo sed & potestatem regiam notat*, 1. 2. dignitas equestris, *ac ordine & nobilitate equitum*, 25. 1. dignitati servire, *consulere existimationi & honori sui*, 25. 6. dignitas corporis, *augusta corporis*

- corporis forma*, 10. 1. dignitas
vita cum splendore jungitur, 7. 11.
 pro dignitate vivere, 25. 2. in-
 telligitur hic dignitas *vita exacta*,
quæ scil. virum bonum decet.
 Diligere affinitatem alicujus, eli-
 gere, 25. 22.
 Dimicare adversus aliquem, *resiste-
 re, in aciem exire, advers.* 1. 4.
 dimicare de famâ, de causâ in
 judicio disceptare, 13. 4.
 Dimittere imperium, *deponere*, 20.
 2. vitam, *mittere, negligere*, 23.
 12. dimisit eum nunquam ab se,
retinuit in convictu assiduus.
 Dinon historicus, 9. 5.
 Dion Syracusanus describitur, 10. 1.
 Discedere pari prælio, *ut neuter
 vicerit, æquis manibus abscedere*,
 2. 3. discedere à pugná, *re in-
 sectâ abire*, 1. 7.
 Dissicere copias alicujus, *dissipare*,
 1. 2.
 Dispalata multitudo, *palabundi &
 dispersa passim vagantesque*, 23. 5.
 Dispositi, *scil. milites in acie stantes*,
 11. 2.
 Disputare de rep. *differere*, 15. 3.
 Dissociati civium animi, *de civili
 discordiâ*, 25. 2.
 Dissolutus, *sign. neglectum legis, boni
 moris existimationisque*, 7. 1.
 Distineri litibus, *vexari ac distra-
 hi*, 25. 2.
 Distrahi, *divelli de pugnantis &
 inter se complexis*, 18. 4.
 Diversi decedunt, *in diversas partes*,
 14. 11.
 Dividere copias hiematum, *in hi-
 berna dispartiri*, 18. 8.
 Divinus, *qui eâ parte prudentiæ,
 quæ divinatio, sive providentia
 dicitur valet*, 25. 9.
 Divitiæ orbis terrarum, *ὕπερβορι-
 νῶς, de summo pretio*, 15. 4.
 Diuum, sub dio, *âere*, 4. 5.
 Docere, *exponere, narrare*, 1. 6.
 Dodona, *pro Oraculo Dodonæ, sit
 potius sacerdotibus Oraculi*, 6. 3.
 Dodrans, ex dodrante hæres, *no-
 vem partes hæreditatis intellige :
 dodrans sunt novem partes assis,
 sc. totius hæreditatis*, 25. 5.
 Dolopes sacrum obtinent, 5. 2.
 Dolor desiderii, *ex desiderio con-
 citatus*, 25. 4.
 Domicilium, *sedes*, 17. 3. demi-
 cilium imperii orbis terrarum,
Urbs Roma, 25. 3.
 Domitius, *Cn. Cos.* 25. 22.
 Drusilla, *T. Claudii Neronis con-
 jux*, 25. 19.
 Dubito an ponam, *eleganter*, pro
 dubito an non ponam, 8. 1. non
 dubitavit committere prælium,
*de fiducia & coram promptitu-
 dine*, 23. 11.
 Ducere aliquem in errorem, *falsa
 opinione deludere*, 23. 9. ducere
 tecum, *de contubernio*, 22. 3.
 ducere existimare, credere, 7. 7.
 ducere bellum, *morâ protabere*,
 7. 8. ducere tempus, *cunctari*,
 2. 7.
 Duci adversus aliquem, *significat,
 militari*, 18. 3. ducere amore,
impelli, 5. 1.
 Ductu ejus res gestæ, 4. 1. *Differ-
 ab auspiciis : quod hæc ad iur-
 mum futi & fortunæ ; illa for-
 mula ad operam ac administra-
 tionem belli pertinet. Interdum
 conjunguntur*.
 Dux manus, *qui parti copiarum
 præest*, 16. 4.
 Dynastes Paphlagoniæ, 14. 2.

E.

- E** Dere in vulgus, *vulgi rumorem
 spargere*, 14. 6.
 Editus locus, *altior*, 17. 6.
 Efferre laudibus, *extollere*, 7. 21.
 efferre matrem, *propria vox de
 sepulchris*, 25. 17. efferri victo-
 ria, *inselescere*, 4. 1.

Efferre

- Fflare animam, *mori*, 4. 5.
 Effusæ largitiones, *immodicæ*, 25. 6.
 Elatiùs se gerere, *insolentiùs*, 4. 2.
 Elicere epistolas alicujus, *occasione suppeditatâ rescribendi, scil.* 25. 20.
 Elis, *Argiv. oppid.* 7. 4.
 Eloquentia antestat innocentia, *superat eam*, 3. 1.
 Elpinice Cimonis foror, 5. 1.
 Elucescere virtutibus, *inclarescere*, 4. 1. elucet ex his illud, *illud potissimum, & ad gloriâ illustre est*, 12. 1. eluxit eloquentia ejus, *illustri argumento cognita est*, 15. 6.
 Emax, *qui emendi studio ducitur*, 25. 13.
 Emittere exercitum in Asiam, *bellatum mittere*, 17. 2.
 Emphyletus, 19. 14.
 Ennius, *Q. Poëta*, 24. 1.
 Enumerare, *per seriem narrare*, 6. 2.
 Enunciare, *revelare rem secretam*, 4. 4.
 Epaminondas Theban. 15. 1.
 Ephebus factus est, *ad pubertatem venit*. 15. 2.
 Ephemeris, 25, 13 diurnam, *Latini vocant. Significat hic libellum quotidianarum expensarum & erogationum. Aliud significat diurni commentarii, apud Suet. Aug.* 6. 4.
 Ephefus. 17. 3.
 Ephori Lacedæmoniorum, 2. 7.
 Epigramma, *inscriptio, titulus, elegium, qualia donis adduntur, quæ Diis sacrabant*, 4. 1.
 Epiroticæ possessiones, *quas habet aliquis in Epiro*, 25. 14.
 Eretia capta, 1. 4.
 Erga. *adversus, in*, 14. 10.
 Erexit eum hæc contumelia, *h. e. ad industriam & emendationem excitavit*, 2. 1.
 Erichthon. *ignotus locus. satentilis Lambin. & Schott. qui ex codicib. annot. Crithonem*. 13. 1.
 Eryx, *mons Siciliae*, 21. 1.
 Esse alicubi, *degere*, 23, 12. *cùm jam in eo esset, ut, h. e. cùm jam parum abesset*, 1. 7.
 Esse civitatis alienæ, *de alicunde orto*, 18. 1. esse partium optimatum, *sequi partes opt.* 25. 6. esse pluris, *plus efficere, præstare publico*, 15. 19. non est tuæ virtutis, *non convenit*, 22. 1. esse calamitati, *inferre calamitatem*, 14. 6. indicio, *præbere indicium, indicare*, 6. 3. invidia, *parere invidiam*, 10. 4. malo, *nocere alicui*, 7. 7. usui multum prodesse operâ consilioque, 9. 2. pari imperio de belli ducibus, 14. 3. hoc sensu, *ingenio*, 7. 5. ante oculos civium, *versari*, 12. 3. cum aliquo, *de convictu*, 22. 3. esse in animis debet, *observari animis*, 8. 2. in colloquio colloqui, 14. 11. in fugâ, *fugam meditari, adornare*, 2. 4. in obfidione, *obsideri*, 18. 5.
 Etruria, 23. 4.
 Evagoras, 12. 2.
 Eubœa, 1. 4.
 Evitare tempestatem, *de fuga periculi*, 7. 4.
 Eumenes Cardianus, 18. 1.
 Eumolpidæ, 7. 4.
 Europæi adversarii, *ab Europa hostes*, 18. 3.
 Eurybiades rex Lacedem. 2. 4.
 Euridice mater Perdiccæ & Philippi. 11. 3.
 Eurysthenes, rex Spartan. 17. 1.
 Exacui irâ, *irritari, exasperari*, 19. 4.
 Exanimari, *de moriente*, 15. 9.
 Excedere pugnâ, *desistere*, *ibid.*
 Excipere hostium impetum, *hosti incurrenti se objicere*, 12. 1. excipere has partes, *in se suscipere negotium*, 10. 8.
 Excitare aliquem adversus aliquem, *instigare*, 23. 10.
 Excursionēs,

Excursionēs, quæ prædæ ab hoste agenda causâ sunt, 1. 2.

Exercentur equitantes, agitationis scilicet novæ genere, & loco ambulationis cursusque equestris usurpato, 18. 5.

Exercitatus bello, 15. 5. in dicendo, *ibid.* prompta faculās utroque notatur.

Exercitus victor, victoriis clarus & formidabilis, 17. 4.

Exhaustus, cui pecunia deest, & instrumenta belli cætera, 7. 8.

Exiguus, brevis futura, 17. 8.

Exiles res, tenues, calamitose, de difficultatibus à fortunâ adversante objectis, 18. 5.

Exire, præfisci domo, 2. 6. in hostem, in bellum, 17. 6. exit fama, emanat, 17. 2.

Exitus, finis vitæ, 18. 3. ædificii, de scribis, 23. 12.

Expedit rem de ancipiti negotio, 18. 9. expedit se, de eo qui circumventus erat, 18. 5. expedit aliquem, prescriptorem numero eximere, 25. 12. expedita ad dimicandum manus, intellige facultatem dimicandi non impeditam aut loco præcisam, 14. 3.

Expensum sumptui ferre, rationes eorum referre, quæ erogamus & expendimus, 25. 13.

Explicari non potuit multitudo, in acie scilicet propter locorum angustias, 2. 4.

Exponere, de descriptione. *hist.* 10. 3. aliquem è nave, verbum nauticum, 2. 8.

Exposcere aliquem, petere ut dedatur, 23. 7.

Externum malum, de bello externo, 22. 2.

Extinguere liberos, è medio tollere, 15. 9. aliquos, scilicet expugnando perdere, 17. 5. contumeliam induitiâ, veluti redimere, aut memoriam contumeliæ dîcere, 2. 1.

Extremo bello, pro fine belli, 9. 1. Extructa fati altitudo muri, *educta*, 2. 6.

Exilium 10 annorum, pœna Ostracismi legibus definita, 5. 3.

F.

FAbius, Q. Maximus dictator, Hannibali oppositus, 23. 5.

Facere audet quod cogitavit, rem deliberatam efficere, 14. 7. faciebat, ut numerarent, curabat numerari, 15. 3. bona beneficis præstitis, aut facere quod utile est alteri, 2. 9. cædam alicujus, perpeccare, 8. 3. castra, penere, 1. 5. aliquem certiozem, decere, 14. 11. civem, adsciscere, 25. 3. impetum in aliquem, adoriri, 14. 9. infidias, frueri, 7. 9. magnam multitudinem, colligere exercitum, 23. 10. luminam, scilicet pecuniam, 15. 3. mentionem, in sermone 7. 5. pecunia ex metallis, redditus foamarum metallicarum intellig. 5. 1. aliquem minus, demittere ex captivitate, 18. 11. potestatem sui, se, ad pugnam, 17. 3. progressum in studiis, proficere, 24. 2. rean, accusare, verba, erationem habere, 2. 10. facere aliquid pulchre posse, de operâ promptè obunda, 25. 13. aliquem pluris, æstimandi significatione 11. 3. facere lucri aliquid, de gloriâ captâ, quæ alteri debebatur, 8. 1. facere naufragium, de clude navali, 2. 7.

Face, pro fac, 4. 2.

Fio, fit cædes civium, cæduntur, 15. 10. sumptus in classem, impenduntur, 1. 7. fieri pluris æstimari, 14. 5. quid his heri vellet, de his, 17. 4.

Factum est æquitate ejus, ut offitium impetratum, res eò deducta, 3. 2.

- eo factio, *per id, hâc ratione*, 15.
 5. quo factio, *quâ causâ, qua ex re*, 14. 3.
- Factio adversaria, *pro viris, advers. fact. ἀντιτασσομένη*, 16. 1. sine factione amicis officia præstanda, *intelligitur, officia amicitiae non extendi ad societatem, rer. nov. factionem*, 25. 18.
- Facultas ita vivendi non datur, *copia, potestas, occasio*, 25. 2. facultates ingenii, *opes*, 15. 1.
- Falernus ager, 25. 5.
- Fallere verbo, *falsi tituli specie*, 15. 5. fefellit eum hæc res, *contra opinionem cecidit*, 10. 3.
- Fatigatio pari stare in utrâque fortunâ, *par cultus ac modus vitæ intelligitur*, 25. 14.
- Fautrix, *de naturâ propitiâ*, 17. 8.
- Ferocior, *belliciosior*, 2. 2. ferocius, loqui, *elatius*, 18. 11. ferocia, *animosa elatio*, 22. 1.
- Ferre calamitatem moderatè, *tolerare, sustinere*, 24. 4. æquo animo ferre, *sine invidia, & æmulatione*, 25. 1. ferre expensum sumptui, *expensas sumptus in commentarium referre*, 25. 13. si tulisset ita fortuna, *si ita accidisset*, 18. 6. ferre suffragium, *patientiam per calculos*, 15. 8. ferri magno odio in aliquem, *de studio animi, contentione, affectu*, 25. 10.
- Ferrum, *pro gladio*, 14. 11. *pro spiculo, quod hastili præfixum est*, 15. 9.
- Festum habere hunc diem, *solenis instituta festi-vitas intelligitur*, 20. 4.
- Fidere pecuniâ, *spem consiendi inde sumere*, 6. 3. victoria, *fiduciam victoriæ habere tanquam certæ*, 12. 1.
- Fidenti animo, *ex successu animositatis intell.* 22. 3.
- Fides vix facta est, *vix persuasit ut crederent*, 17. 2. uidei alicujus aliquid credere, *committere alicuiquid tanquam homini bonâ fide, aut bonâ fide servandum*, 23. 9. dare, accipere fidem, *polliceri, & vicissim alterius pollicitis credere*, 14. 20.
- Fiducia nimia magnæ calamitati solet esse, *intell. securitas ex confidentiâ*, 16. 3. fiduciam habere rei potiundæ, *spes certa & plusquam spes*, 17. 4.
- Figura venusta, *de totius corporis habitu congruo*, 18. 11.
- Filius à patre acceptam gloriam auxit, 13. 1. ejus recens gloria veterem patris renovat, 13. 2. filio regnum à viro patre non tradendum, 21. 3.
- Fingere fortunam sibi, *conciliare*, 25. 11. fingere se, *effingere suos mores in re-titudinem officiorum vitæ, ibid.*
- Firmæ copiæ, *respe-ctu peritiæ bel-landi indurata bello manus*, 18. 3. firmæ vires ad laborem ferendum, *de eo qui invictus laboris & operis*, 18. 11.
- Firmissimi amici, *conjunctissimi*, 6. 2.
- Flaccus, *L. Valerius*, 24. 1.
- Flagitium, *de armis relictis*, 22. 1. ac dedecore, *ibid.*
- Flaminius, *C. Cof.* occiditur, 23. 4.
- Flaminius, *L. Quintus, Cof.* 23. 12.
- Flectere suum iter, *de aliâ viâ tentandâ*, 18. 9.
- Florere, *de potentiâ & excellentiâ imperii*, 18. 1. rebus quibusdam, *gestorum gloriâ*, 5. 3. florens, *adhuc vivens, superstes*, 25. 11.
- Fluctus civiles, *turbæ*, 25. 6.
- Forma imperatoria, *imperatore dig-na*, 11. 3.
- Fortuna ut si in manu ejus esset fortuna, *ab ipso regeretur, ad arbitrium flecteretur*, 13. 3. fortuna

G.

tunâ secundâ, *de successu*, 1. 2.
 fortuna virtuti par, *de bonâ for-*
tunâ & felicitate, 18. 1. fortu-
 na, *de infelicitate, adversa fer-*
tuna, 17. 5. non simplex, *utra-*
que, 20. 1. fortuna, *pro condi-*
tione, statu, 7. 9. conversa su-
 bito fortuna est, *rerum status &*
vices, 25. 10. fortunam suam
 occulere, *statui suo & celebri-*
tati latebras quærere, tum formæ
tum securitatis, 7. 9.
 Forum, in foro esse cœpit, *fori*
studii & civilis ætus rudimentis
operam dare, 24. 1.
 Frangi curâ rerum, *angi vehemen-*
ter, 10. 7.
 Fregellæ, *opp. Lat.* 23. 7.
 Frui aliquo, *convictu alicujus*, 25.
 20.
 Fructus, fructum pietatis ferre,
præmium, 25. 5.
 Frustrari seipsum, *nocendi signif.*
 23. 2.
 Fugam alicujus sublevare, *de ex-*
pulso & hoste judicato, 25. 2.
 Fugere, *vincere*, 15. 5.
 Fugere procurationem reip. *alsti-*
nere eâ, 25. 15. non fugit me,
satis intelligo, 10. 2.
 Fulget indoles virtutis in eo, *ex-*
plendescit, 18. 1.
 Fulvia uxor Antonii, 25. 9.
 Funestâ victoria detestanda, 15.
 10.
 Fungi munus militare, 14. 1. func-
 tus summis honoribus, *qui mag-*
nis rebus præfuit, multum in im-
periis magistratibusque versatus
est, 2. 8.
 Funus nullius ex suis vidit, *de*
morte, 21. 2.
 Furius, *L. Cof.* 23. 7.

GALLIA venatoria, 14. 3.
 Gellius, *Q. Canius*, 25. 10.
 Geminus, *Cn. Servilius*, 23. 4.
 Genus antiquum, 21. 2. *pro gente,*
natione, 21. 2.
 Generatus ab origine, *oriundus*,
 25. 1.
 Generosus, *de nobili familiâ dicitur*,
 2. 1. generosa fama eorum, *fama*
ex majoribus generosis, 10. 1. ge-
 nerosi condiscipuli, *animo erectis*
excellenteque præditi, 25. 1.
 Gerere, *pro administrare*, 34. 2.
 gerere res magnas, *efficere*, 22. 3.
 rem malè, *uti adversâ fortunâ*,
 1. 3.
 Geri, *effici*, 4. 2. gerere amicitiam,
exercere, 14. 19.
 Gladii minuti, *breves*, 11. 1.
 Globus consensionis, *numerus con-*
spiratorum, factio, cohors, 25. 8.
 Gloria belli, *bello gesto parata*, 4. 5.
 Golonæ, *pl. locus agri Troadis*, 4. 3.
 Gongylus Eretrienfis, 4. 2.
 Gortynii, *Gortyna urbs Cretæ*, 23. 9.
 Gracchus, *T. Sempronius*, *infidis*
perit, 23. 5.
 Gradus, *sc. honoris & amicitie*, 18.
 1. imperii secundus, *proxima à*
rege dignitas, 9. 3.
 Græcæ literæ, *de linguâ Græcâ*,
 23. 13.
 Græci libri Hannibalis, *ibid.*
 Græcia, *pro incolis Græcis*, 15. 5.
 Graius saltus, 23. 3.
 Gravitas Lacedæmoniorum, *insuf-*
pendendâ, dum res penitissimè ex-
ploraretur, fide, 4. 4.
 Grunium in Phrygiâ castrum, 7. 9.
 Gymnasium Timoleontium, 20. 4.
 Gynæconitis, *præf.*

H.

HAbere, quemdam se habere,
*ut altitudo ejus comparata
 est*, 10. 2. ut haberet, quò
 se, eret ad salutem, *b. c. locum*,
quò fug. 9. 10. habere amorem
 alicujus magnum, *amari*, 20. 3.
 contentionem cum aliquo, *al-*
ceptare, 17. 1. aliquem secum,
convictum notat, 25. 4. quastio-
 nem de, *intellig. cognitio judi-*
cialis, 7. 4. aliquem ad manum,
uti alicujus ministerio, 8. 1.
 Haberi numero sapientium, *requi-*
tari, 8. 4. male vexari, *acri-*
mentis multis affici, 18. 12.
 Halimtus, *urbs Bœotie*, 0. 3.
 Halicarnassia civis, 2. 1.
 Hamileer, 22. 1.
 Hannibal, 23. 1.
 Haruspex, 20. 1.
 Batdrubal malè audit ex contu-
 bernio Hamilearis, 22. 3.
 Hæcæ brevis, *modus capicatus*,
 11. 1.
 Hæstile, 15. 9.
 Hellepontus, 4. 2.
 Heletes *servi Lucademoneorum*, 4. 3.
 Helvius, C. 24. 1.
 Hemeredroni Græc. *q. d. Curyres*
diaris, 1. 4.
 Hephestioma, ni æstimatur, 18. 2.
 Heraclides interficitur, 10. 6.
 He coles Graius, 23. 3.
 Herculis progenies, 17. 1.
 Hermes Andocidis, 7. 3.
 Hætarice, *ita vocabatur hæneris*
causâ ala equitum apud Macedo-
nas, ab amicitia & voluti sedâ-
litate regis, 18. 1.
 Hibernacula, *pro Hibernis, aliâ pro*
ipsis tentoriis sumuntur, sive pro
pellibus, sub quibus antiquitus
militēs hiemabant, 17. 3.
 Hiems, *pro tempestate*, 25. 10.
 Hierophantes, *genus sacerdotii A-*
thiniensis, 16. 3.
 Hilaritas, *voluptas animi*, 15. 8.

Hipparinus, 10. 1.
 Hippo, *urbs African.* 22. 2.
 Hipponicus, 7. 2.
 Hirta tunica, *hirsuta, hispida*, 14. 3.
 Hispania exterior, 24. 2.
 Histaspes Darii pater, 21. 1.
 Homerus, 14. 2.
 Honor regni, *pro ipso regno*, 17. 1.
 Honoribus operam dare, *accedere*
ad honores & rem. capessere, 24.
 1. honorificentius, *honoratius*,
 18. 1.
 Hortari milites, *prælio firmare*,
 1. 6.
 Hortensius, 25. 5.
 Hospitio alicujus contineri, *esse*
inter hospites, 6. 1.
 Humilis veritus, *vilior*, 17. 8.

I.

IAM tunc, 13. 3.
 Jason Tyrannus, 13. 4.
 Ictas vincitur, 20. 2.
 Ignorare aliquem, *non nosse*, 3. 1.
ignorare nolui te ista, docere vo-
lui, 25. 21.
 Illudere aliquem, *callidè inventa*
fallere, 25. 10.
 Illustris adolescens, *generis respectu*,
 22. 3. illustre est ei maximè
insigne ad famam, 21. 1. illu-
 strissimum prælium, *celeberrim-*
um, 4. 1.
 Illustrari, *ad famæ celebritatem per-*
venire, 2. 1.
 Imago consuetudinis, *vita descript-*
io, 15. 1.
 Imitari consuetudinem gentis, *mo-*
ribus ejus vivere, 7. 11.
 Imminere, *moliri oppressionem*, 18.
 10.
 Imminere animi magnitudinem,
minus quam frangere, 18. 5.
 Immoderatâ licentiâ, *vulgi scil.*
libertatem suam, intemperanter,
habeatis, & in licentiam verten-
tis, 7. 4.
 Immo-

- immodestia, *licentia militaris, & ad dignatio parendi*, 6. 1.
 Immortalis pugna, *dicitur cujus memoria est perpetua*, 15. 10.
 Impedimenta, *scil. militaria, ut farcinæ, instrumenta, vehicula, &c.* 8. 2.
 Impelli auctoritate alicujus, *mo- veri*, 1. 5.
 Impendere, *imminere, de mox fu- turis*, 18. 10.
 Imperare, *summam belli administra- re*, 14. 5.
 Imperium majus, *de prolatiis finibus*, 1. 6. imperii summam tenere, *imperare urbi, præesse cum perpetuo imperio*, 1. 3. non magis im- perio, quàm justitiâ, *non tam potestate jurisdictionis, quàm aequi- tate administrationis*.
 Imperium, *militaris præfectura*, 3. 2. abrogare, *scil. ducibus*, 15. 7.
 Impetus, *repentina oppressio*, 7. 8. hostium, *incursus*, 12. 1. impe- tum facere, *impressionem*, 17. 3.
 Implicatus magnis rebus, *ex diffi- cultate ceptorum in varias emer- gendi argutias conjectus*, 4. 4.
 Impotens dominatio, *intemperantis imperii insolentia & abusus pote- statis notatur*, 6. 1.
 Imprudens inscius, 6. 4. impru- dentem hostem opprimere, *in- opinantem*, 18. 3.
 Impugnare prior voluit, *de singu- lis qui alteri ictum inferre priores conantur*, 8. 2. impugnare ali- quem, *adversus aliquem pugnare*, 15. 10.
 Incensus, *irritatus, infestus*, 18. 10.
 Inceptum, *propositum*, 10. 8.
 Incestus Oedipi, 15. 6.
 Inclinatae sunt copiae, *fugam spec- tant*, 16. 5.
 Incurrentes, *qui in hostem impetum faciunt*, 12. 1.
 Index, *qui rem defert*, 4. 4e
 Indicium, *narratio, manifestatio*, 4. 4. indicio sunt ei rei, *pro ipso rei indicium*, 25. 16.
 Indicare se, *se ipsum prodere*, 4. 4.
 Indidem Thebis, 15. 5.
 Indigere alienarum opum, *de exule*, 23. 1.
 Indignâ, *iniqua miseranda*, 19. 4.
 Inducere in insidias, *pellicere*, 23. 5. ad bellum, *permoovere*, 23. 3. Plato inducit Socratem, *perso- nam alicui tribuere, ætatis aut sermonis gratiâ*, 7. 2. induci ad credendum, *adduci*, 9. 3.
 Indulgere alicui, *facereis honorisque respectu, quæ exhibemus viro bene merenti*, 10. 2. indulgere *de creditoribus solutionem debiti non urgentibus, ad moram conni- ventibus*, 25. 2. indulgere, *de dissolutâ educatione*, 10. 4. do- lori, *ejus impetum sequi, cui qui doleri*, 21. 1. sibi, *licentiæ*, 6. 1. sibi liberaliter, *splendidiùs vi- vere* 12. 3.
 Industria summa, *de studio actûs civilis & officiorum vitæ*, 2. 1.
 Infamis, *per fugitia*, 15. 10.
 Infamatus à plerisque, *vituperatus*, 7. 11.
 Intectis rebus, *non effectis*, 1. 7.
 Inferior copiis, *sic superior, de majore & minore numero*, 14. 8.
 Inferre bellum in Italiam, *bello Italiam petere, vel eam sedem bello legere*, 22. 3. inferre, *signa, in hostem ire*, 14. 6. mala in do- mum alicujus, *vexare, detri- mentis afficere domum*, 2. 9. in- ferri eò, *dicitur, corpus mortui, si peliendum scilicet*, 4. 5.
 Infestus Romanis animus, *de hos- tili odio*, 22. 3.
 Inficias ire aliquid, *negare*, 15. 10.
 Infirmus, *scil. viribus armorum*, 18. 3. infirmissimi, *scil. potentiâ*, 2. 6.
 Infodere, *de sepulturâ*, 4. 5.
 Ingratiis, *vellent, nollent*, 2. 4.
 Injicere,

- Injicere admirationem sui, *excitare*, 11. 11. non ampliùs quàm pellis est injecta, *de strati tegumento*, 17. 3.
- Inimica patriæ consilia, *seditiosæ molitiones*, 4. 3. inimicissimum suum, *vocant Romani Hannibalem*, 23. 12.
- Inire consilia, *de propositio & molitionibus seditiosis*, 6. 3. inire gratiam ab aliquo, *mereri apud aliquem*, 7. 9. talem rationem ad interfic. *capere tale consilium*, 23. 10.
- Iniens adolescentia, *incipiens, prima*, 2. 1.
- Initium tenue, *occasione tenui rei oblat*, 16. 2.
- Inopinatæ res, *felicitas spe uberior*, 10. 6.
- Insciente, *inscio*, 18. 12. inscientia belli, *imperitia*, 15. 7.
- Insequi, *vexare*, 25. 9.
- Intervire studiis gentis, *imitari mores & consuetudinem*, 7. 11.
- Insolens quid, *de elato sermone*, 20. 4.
- Instare hosti audaciùs, *urgere*, 15. 9.
- Instat tempus proficiscendi, *adest*, 7. 4. instans periculum, *imminens, impendens*, 4. 3.
- Institutum vitæ, *ratio, consuetudo*, 25. 7. instituta patriæ, *respectu habito ad formam reip.* 17. 4.
- Insuetus malè audiendi, *de eò qui finisrè de se opinantes ægrè fert*, 10. 7.
- Insula Scyrus, 5. 2. Lemnus, 1. 1. Cyclades, 1. 2.
- Intemperantia, *licentia militaris*, 18. 8.
- Inter, obtrèctârunt inter se, *pro invicem*, 3. 1.
- Intercedit cupiditas major, *scil. intervenit consiliis melioribus*, 10. 1. intercessit nullus temere dies ferme, *singulis diebus*, 25. 20.
- Interdici non potest socero gener, *contubernium & convictus generi*, 22. 3.
- Interesse rébus privatis, publicis, *plusquam nudam præsentiam notat*, 20. 4.
- Interfectus exercitus host. *delectus, occisione*, 3. 2.
- Interit pecunia, *prodigitur*, 2. 2.
- Internecio, ad internecionem gesta bella ad partis, aut partium interitum, 18. 3.
- Interponere, *de judicio, sententiæque scriptioni inserta*, 16. 3.
- Interponere se, *ope suâ intervenire, facultatem rei conciliare, pecuniâ mutua juvare*, 25. 2.
- Interpretari, *rationem reddere*, 25. 3.
- Intueri, *animadvertere*, 12. 1.
- Invehi multa in aliquem, *alicujus exagitandi ergò probra spargere*, 15. 6.
- Inventum, *consilium, ars, strata-gema*, 12. 1.
- Invidere aliquid, *pro ob aliquid*, 8. 4.
- Invidus potentiæ populus, *qui ob potentiam invidet*, 15. 3.
- Invidia non opprimitur acerbitate, sed tenetur obsequio, 10. 6. invidiæ crimen, *ex invidiâ impositum*, 7. 4. invidiâ minore esse, *minùs sentire invidiam, minùs peti invidiâ*, 18. 7.
- Iones, 1. 4.
- Ionia, 1. 3.
- Iphicrates, 11. 1. Iphicratenfes milites, *pro præstantibus*, 11. 2.
- Ire, *cum exercitu scil.* 17. 3.
- Is, non sum is, qui, *non ejusmodi homo, vel tali animo præditus*, 17. 5.
- Ismenias captus, 16. 5.
- Ister, *fluv.* 1. 3.
- Istius Milesius, *ibid.*
- Judicare aliquem exulem, *judicio exilium discernere*, 23. 7.
- Judicandum est utilitate, *secundum utilitatem*, 25. 13.

Judicium,

Judicium capitis, *cum quis accusatur capitis*, 15. 9. *judicium nō de hoc habetur*, 19. 3.

Julii divi filius, 25. 19.

Jumentum, *de equis*, 18. 5.

Jupiter Ammon, 6. 3. Feretrius, 25. 20. Opt. Max. 23. 2. Jovis antistites, 6. 3.

Jus, jure suo, *merito*, 8. 1. jura patriæ, hospitii, *respectu obligationis, quibus patriæ aut hospitii obligamur*, 13. 4.

Jussu populi, *formula democratica, ibid*

Justitia, *pro æquitate civilis animi, ac ἰσότης*, 3. 2.

Justus, *cognomen*, 3. 1.

K.

K Alendæ Aprilis, 25. 2.
Karthaginenses à Lutatior vincuntur, 22. 1.

L.

L Abeo, *Q. Fab. Cos.* 23. 13.

Labor animi, *contentio*, 7. 1. laboro quærere de hac re, *annitor, studio*, 16. 3.

Lacedæmonii Græciæ domin. 9. 4.

Laco, *pro Agesilao*, 13. 1.

Lacon, *pro Lysandro*, 7. 10.

Laconica, *scil. regio*, 13. 2.

Lacrymare casum alicujus, *illacrymare alicui*, 7. 6.

Lamachus, 7. 3.

Lamecius, 20. 5.

Lamprus, *Musici*, 15. 2.

Lampsacum, *urbis*, 2. 10.

Lapis, *de milliari*, 25. 22.

Largitiones effusæ, *ferè in malam partem usurjatur hæc vox, de iis quæ ambitus causâ donantur*, 25. 6.

Latere, *occultam esse, ignorari*, 17. 6.

Lais liberandarum Thebarum, *gloria ex commendatione libera-*

tionis ejus, 16. 4. rei militaris, *fama, rebus bello gestis parta*, 1. 8. victoria illa est, *in eo sit laudabilis*, 17. 4. in summa laude esse, *laudari*, 11. 2.

Lautè vivere, *splendidè, liberalius sibi indulgere*, 12. 3.

Laxare vincula epistolæ, 4. 4.

Lectoris fatietas & ignorantia, *quarum hæc ex nimia brevitate, illa ex multitudine*, 16. 1.

Legationem suscipere, *obediens in se recipere*, 2. 6. legationes, *pro ipsi legatis*, 15. 6.

Lemnus non vult se dedere, 1. 1.

Lenire invidiam, *mitigare*, 10. 6.

Leonidas Rex Lacedæm. 2. 3.

Leonnatus, 18. 2.

Leotychides, 17. 1.

Levare inopiam, *sublevare, subvenire*, 25. 2.

Leucosyrri, *qui nunc Cappadoces*, 14. 1.

Leuctra, *viciis Bæot.* 17. 6.

Levis armatura, *pro militibus levis armaturæ*, 14. 8. levis, *expeditur*, 11. 1. levis non liberalis, *qui plura promittit quàm præstat, non tam facilitate officii, quàm temeritate linguæ; leviora sunt mihi, apud me, duco leviora*, 15. 1.

Libenter detrahunt de iis, *vilius animi ad detrahend, proxi notatur*, 12. 3.

Liberalitas temporaria, *calidæ, quæ temporis & spei causâ fit*, 25. 11. liberaliter pollicere, *prolixè*, 6. 4.

Libertatis species, *pars indicium*, 20. 5.

Librarii, *servi quorum operâ in describendis & curandis libris uterentur ut bantur*, 25. 13.

Lignea mœnia, *enigmatice de navibus*, 2. 2.

Ligures, 23. 4.

Literis coli ab aliquo, *de familiaritate epistolæ commercii*, 25. 20.

Literæ,

Literæ, *pro Puliis*, 23. 13. literæ Græcæ, *pro lingua*, ibid.
 Locus non æquus, *iniquus incommodus*, 1. 5. locus *pro occasione*, 22. 1.
 Longum est enumerare prælia, *formula est præcisionis*, 23. 5.
 Longus, *Tib.* 23. 4.
 Loqui, *ferre rumoribus*, 22. 3.
 Lucani, *pro regione Lucan*, 23. 5.
 Lucretii, 25. 12.
 L. Lucullus, 25. 5.
 Lumina oculorum, *pro oculis*, 20. 4.
 Lutatus C. fud. Karthagin. 22. 1.
 Lycus, *Pater Throkybadi*, 8. 1.
 Lyco, *Syracusanus*, 10. 9.
 Lydi, 14. 8.
 Lydia, 9. 2.
 Lyfander, *Lacedæm.* 6. 1.
 Lyfimachus, 3. 1.
 Lysis Tarentinus, 15. 2.
 LLS. 25. 4. *Seftertium antiqui his modis exprimebant, HS. HS. LLS. duarum librarum & semiffis charactere, fuperpofita lineola, millefarii index, fextertium in neutro fignif. Vid. Bodæum & Glarean.*

M.

M Acrochir (*Longimanus*) *Ar-taxerxes*, 21. 1.
 Magiftratus, *imperium, prætura belli*, 1. 8.
 Magnesia, *urbs Af. apud Mæandrum*, fl. 2. 10.
 Majores res appetere, *de ambitiofis novisque confiliis*, 4. 2.
 Malefica natura, 17. 8. nancifci naturam maleficam in corpore, *nihil aliud, quam in corpore naturæ aliquem errorem ac æfermitatem præferre.*
 Malum externum, *bellum cum ext.* 22. 2.
 Malitior è facere, *cum aliquis culpâ fuâ & de indytrâ rem male gerit*, 7. 7.

Mamercus Italicus capitur, 20. 2.
 Mago frater Hannibalis, 23. 7.
 Manceps, *qui à populo aliquid emit conductivæ, ejus rei quoniam fublatâ manu indicium facit, feque auftorere profectur*, manceps, dicitur; *vid. Sigon.* 25. 6.
 Manere, *expectare hofem*, 2. 4. in officio, *obfequi jē. & fidei*, 9. 3.
 Manere, *ratum eſſe*, 7. 10.
 Manubiæ, *prædam fex pecuniam ex præda redactam intelligit*, 5. 2.
 Manus ad manum habere, *miniſterio alicujus uti*, 18. 1.
 Manus, *exercitus & copia*, 1. 5. manum conferere, *acie contendere*, 14. 8. manum dare, *victorum eſt & fuccumbentium*, 22. 1.
 Marathon, *campus*, 1. 4.
 Marathoniâ pugna, 2. 2. *Marathonium tropæum, pugna, ſeu pugnæ gloriæ*, 2. 5.
 Marcellus, *M. Claud. Coſ.* 23. 13.
 Mardonius quis, 4. 1.
 Marius hoſtis judicatus, 25. 2.
 Maſſagætæ, 21. 1.
 Mater patri prælata, 11. 3. filii pœnam promovet, 4. 5.
 Media, 18. 8.
 Mederi ſatietati leſtoris, *ne ſatietate obtundatur, caſere*, 16. 1.
 Medianus (*& medianum*) *Græcorum menſura, Romanes ſex modis capiens*, 25. 2.
 Meditari animo, *conſtituere apud ſe*, 17. 4.
 Mel cadaveril us circumfuſum, *conſervabat ea à patredine*, 17. 8.
 Memor gratusque, *quodam ſententia genere juncta*, 25. 9. memor virtutem priſtinarum, *non tam materia quàm ri moriæ efficacia & inſinatio ad aliquâ notatur*, 23. 12.
 Meneclides, 15. 5.
 Menelai portus, 17. 8.
 Meneltheus, *ſilius Iphicr.* 11. 3.
 Mens, *propoſitum, conſilium*, 16. 1.
 Menſa ſecunda, 17. 8.

Mentio

Mentio, *de totâ expositione vitæ*, 15. 4.
 Mercenarii scribæ, *non sine notâ vilis animi & operæ hæc vox honestis & industriis viris, qui fidem potius quàm lucrum spectant, majorumque rerum auctores sunt, opponitur*, 18. 1.
 Mererellipendium, *militare*, 24. 1.
 Messena constituta, 15. 8.
 Miccythus, 15. 4.
 Miltiades, 1. 1.
 Minervæ ædes, 4. 5.
 Minus diebus, *minus quàm diebus*, 2. 5.
 M. Minutius Rufus, M. E. 23. 5.
 Q. Minutius Cos. 23. 8.
 Mira comitas, *magna*, 1. 8.
 Mirabilis cupiditas, *vehemens, ingens*, 1. 5.
 Miscere plurima cupit, *de seditiosis, & turbulentis seditionibus*, 4. 1.
 Mithridates Ariobarzani fil. 14. 4.
 Mithrobarzanes, 14. 6.
 Mitylenæi quid Pittaco donârint, 8. 4.
 Mnemon Artaxerxes justitiæ famâ florens, 21. 1.
 Mobilis, *populus inconstans*, 13. 3.
 Moderata vita, *civilitatis respectu*, 13. 4.
 Mocilla, L. Julius prætor, 25. 11.
 Moliri, *de conatu rei magnæ*, 7. 10.
 Molossi, 2. 8.
 Momenti nullius esse, *auctoritate scil. amissa*, 7. 8.
 Monumentum, *sepulchrum*, 25. 22.
 monumenta, *indicia rei memoriam conservantia*, 2. 10. dicuntur à monendo.
 Mos, *ad morem majorum, h. e. instituta inde à majoribus propagata*, 5. 1. mores civitatis, *con-juetudines, instituta*, 25. 6.
 Mos crudelitatis, *ipsam crudelitatis usurpationem exprimit*, 8. 3.
 Morem gerere, *obedire*, 14. 4.
 Morum præfectus, 22. 3.
 Movere se, *scil. ex pristina habita-*

tione, 18. 6. *movere, persuadere*, 2. 4. *moveri auctoritate alicujus, scil. ad fidem habendam*, 9. 4. *moveri quæ possunt, vulgo mobilia bona*, 2. 2.
 Motus concursusque, *præstantium, sc. bellantiumque*, 11. 1.
 Mulctare, *lex mulctat more, mortis pœnam constituit*, 15. 7.
 Multitudo, *populus*, 7. 3.
 Munire itinera, *vias faciendo itineri aptare*, 23. 3. *munitiones, opera obsidentium*, 18. 5.
 Muri lignei, *quo commento instructi*, 2. 2.
 Mutare arma, *alia invenire*, 11. 1.
 Mutina, 25. 9.
 Mycale, *urbs Cariæ*, 5. 2.
 Myseria facere, *Cereris sacra arcana*, 7. 3. *alio nomine initiare, vide Justin.* 5. 1.
 Myus, *urbs Asiæ*, 2. 10.

N.

Nancisci causam idoneum, *sc. opportundè, commodè, oblatam, captamve*, 2. 6. *hostes navalem nacti diem, scil. tempestatem ejus diei, in consilium verterunt, suo usui accommodârunt.*
 Natu magno, *substantivè, ætatis ratione*, 4. 5.
 Natura experta in hoc quid efficere possit, *significat autem hic Natura grandius, tanquam effectrix rerum, &c.* 7. 1. *naturæ debitum reddere, mori*, 21. 1. *neque id natura solùm fecit, naturali ingenii propensione*, 25. 17. *naturâ civitatem eâdem, translata consuetudo*, 1. 6.
 Naturale bonum, *naturalis quædam gratiæ apud omnes obtinendæ felicitas*, 8. 1.
 Naves onerariæ, *serviebant commeatui transvehendo*, 2. 2.
 Naxus, *insula*, 2. 8.
 Ne, *pro an, verum, falsumne*, 14. 9.
 M m Necesse

Neceſſarius homo, *ſignif. propin-*
quitatis, de ſecero, 14. 6.
 Neceſſitas, *de urgente calamitate,*
2. 8.
 Neceſſitudo. *affinitas, 10. 1. ne-*
ceſſitudo fortis, colligarum forte
lectorum conſenſio, & vinculum
conjunctioque notatur, 24. 1.
 Neſtanebus, *rex Aegypti, 17. 8.*
 Negotium ſuſcipere, *de re mandata*
efficienda, 27. 15.
 Neocles, *2. 1.*
 Neoptolemus cadit, *18. 4.*
 Nepos Corn. *laudat librum ſuum*
de Hiſtoricis, 10. 5.
 Neptuni ſonum, *ἄπυξον, 4. 4.*
 Nero, C. Claudius, *24. 1.*
 Nefcio quo modo, *formula fre-*
quens, ἀπογνῶν, 7. 11. quod
neſcio an ulli, h. e. quod ſcio
nulli contigiffe, 20. 10.
In neutram partem, neque hoc neque
illo reſpectu, 25. 13.
 Nicanor Caſſandri præfectus Pi-
 ræo potitur, *19. 2.*
 Nicias, *7. 3.*
 Nilus flumen, *18. 5.*
 Nitor recuperare, *labore, 16. 2.*
 Nixus in cubitum, *erigentis ſe ha-*
bitum notat, 25. 21.
 Nitida jumenta, *pinguia, non ſtri-*
goſa, 18. 5.
 Nobiles, *populo & civitatibus De-*
mocraticis inviſi, 7. 4.
 Nocere ſupplicibus, *dicitur de il-*
lata pœna damnare, 17. 4.
 Nomen, *pro famâ, 1. 8. nomen*
Romanum, cum granditate quâ-
dam pro populo, 23. 7. nomen,
titulus ſine re, 15. 5. nominatim,
præcipuè, expreſſo nomine, 1. 1.
 Nora, *caſtellum Phrygiæ, 18. 5.*
 Notare loca, *ſigno & obſervatione,*
14. 11. notare res ſine nomine,
exprim. ſcrib. 25. 3. notari, an-
notari, præſcribi, 23. 18.
 Nota virtus, *cum laude inſignis pa-*
riter ac perfectâ, 5. 3.

Notitia, *ob notitiam intromiſſi,*
tanquam noti, 10. 9.
 Novæ res, *inſulita, 14. 6.*
 Novum conſilium, *nova ars, ele-*
ganter dicuntur ſignificatione in-
venti tam ſoleris, quàm neceſſarii,
18. 8.
 Noviffimo tempore, *extremo, 18. 1.*
 Nubere alicui, *ſæminarum eſt, 5. 1.*
 Nudare vaginâ telum, *diſtringere,*
14. 11.
 Numen Deorum, *notat hic auſpi-*
cium, curam, 17. 2.
 Numentanum prædium, *25. 14.*
 Numerus decemplex, *1. 5. in hoc*
numero fuit, aliàs in eis, inter
eos, 1. 3. numero copiarum fre-
tus, multitudine, 1. 5.
 Numidæ fruſtrâ inſidiantur Han-
 nibali, *23. 6.*
 Nutu ejus gerunt omnia, *h. e. ar-*
bitrio, placito, 6. 2.
 Nyſæus, *10. 1.*

O.

Obductâ nocte, *obſcurâ mini-*
mèque ſerenâ, 23. 5.
 Objicere ſe hoſti, *de eo qui oppoſi-*
tus hoſti, 23. 5.
 Obire legationes, *ſuſcipere, mitti,*
legatum agere, 10. 1.
 Obniti, *obnixo genu ſcuto, h. e.*
obnixo in ſcutum, obſtrato genu
ad ſcutum, 12. 1.
 Obruere gladios, *infodere, 14. 11.*
 Obſequi ſtudiis ſuis, *iis cum ſtudio*
& opportunitate inſervire, 25. 2.
 Obſequium, *comitas, 10. 6.*
 Obſes retentus, *legationis miſſæ*
cauſâ, 2. 7. obſidem rei eſſe,
obligare fidem ſuam hoc futurum,
vel non futurum eſſe, 19. 2.
 Obſideri, *urbs dicitur, cujus arx,*
ſc. jam eſt occupata, 16. 1. obſi-
deri undique, cum exitus omnes
cutoſi ſunt, 23. 12.
 Obſistere, *obicere ſe, 17. 4.*

Obſoletus,

- Obsoletus honor, *glorioso opponitur, spectus*, 1. 6.
 Obstruere aures alicujus, *propositum intervertere*, 10. 0.
 Oblivatio staciturna, *oblivatio propositi, staciturnitate cōfensa significata*, 24. 27.
 Obterere laudem virtutis, *includit significatam contemptus ac superpositionis*, 20.
 Obvigi de quaestor Scipioni, *ita sepe Romani auctores de magistratibus sorte datis*, 24. 1.
 Obviare locum eundem, *idem officium gerere*, 18. 13.
 Obviare, inter se, *sc. non amulari tantum, sed adversari sibi mutuo*, 3. 1.
 Occasione datā, 22. 1.
 Occasus, *mors*, 18. 3.
 Octavius Cæsar Atticum familiariter, per epistolas colit, 25. 20.
 Oculorum lumina, *oculi*, 20. 4.
 Odium civitatis, *in civitatem*, 13. 3. odium ejus in hoc viro tantum est, *adversus hunc virum*, 19. 4.
 Œdipus parricida & incestuosus, 15. 6.
 Offendere, *absolūtē, offensionem incurere*, 19. 2. offensa voluntas in aliquem, *in sena infusa*, 10. 7.
 Offendere aliquem imparatum, *deprehendere*, 17. 2.
 Offerre se periculo, *audere rem periculosam*, 16. 2.
 Officia præstare alicui, *tanquam civis civibus & magistratui, cum notā obsequii erga imper.* 1. 2. urbana, *scil. solemnibus negotiis in urbe præstare solita*, 25. 4.
 Officio tribuere aliquid, *bonis restitue studio facere*, 25. 6.
 Officium, de obsequio imperantibus debito, 1. 7.
 Oleaginæ virgulæ, & ex iis corona, 8. 4. *victoriæ symbolo oblata, Nam à ludis Olympicis seria transferre ejusmodi res usitatam & elegans.*
 Olympias, mater Alexandri, Eumenis consilium, mox & auxilium implorat, 18. 6.
 Olympiæ victor, *præf.*
 Olympiodorus, *tibicen*, 15. 2.
 Olynthus, *urbs Thraciæ*, 16. 1.
 Onomarchus custodum præfectus, 18. 11.
 Onustus prædā, *copiam dicit & ubertatem*, 7. 5.
 Opera, *efficienda scil. in iis quæ amicis alijs præstamus*, 5. 4. operā ejus acciderunt res adversæ, *culpā*, 7. 6.
 Operire, *obtegere*, 23. 9.
 Opes, *pro potentiā*, 15. 6. opes magnas prostrernere, *magnum vim hostium ac numerum, adeoque potentiæ hostilis partem non minimam*, 1. 5.
 Opes alienæ, *potentia, patrocinium*, 23. 1.
 Opinio, de quo quanta fuerit opinio eorum, *quid judicaret*, 18. 13.
 Opulentis, 12. 3.
 Opus, opera, *munitiones*, 1. 7.
 Ora Asiæ, *extremitas*, 7. 5.
 Ordinatæ copiæ *quæ in acie stant*, 11. 2.
 Ordini reliquos, *vitam reliquorum exponere*, 7. 11.
 Ordo equestris, *dignitas ordinis equestris*, 25. 19. ordo, *locus in agmine*, 14. 9.
 Oræstes matricida, 15. 6.
 Origines Catonis, 24. 5.
 Ornamentum habere ab aliquo, *honores & opes intelliguntur*, 25. 7.
 Ornatus elephantus, *instruendus ad pugnam*, 23. 3.
 Oronte, *interpositum sermoni, ut alias quæso amabo*, 25. 4.
 Ostendere, *præferre, causam allegare*, 10. 4. renunciare, 23. 12.
 Ottracismus, 5. 3.
 Otium, *de statu & facie pacis*, 22. 2.

P.

Pactio, *induciarum scil. jura-
mento sancita*, 17. 2.
 Padus, *fluv.* 23. 4.
 Palæstra, *quomodo utendum*, 15. 2.
 Palæstræ vocantur, *quæ aliàs Gym-
nasia*.
 Pamphylium mare, 23. 8.
 Pandates, 14. 5.
 Paphlago, *pro Thyo*, 14. 2.
 Pani præbendo urbs destinata,
more Persarum, 2. 10.
 Pari prælio discedere, *æquis ma-
nibus, neutro victo, aut victore*,
 2. 3.
 Par alicui, *scil. armis*, 18. 8. non
 est, *æquum*, 14. 6.
 Parare bellum, *moliri, adornare in
aliquem*, 23. 2.
 Parare copias, *comparare*, 14. 10.
 parat proficisci, *constituit*, 14. 4.
 Parare diligentiam, *pretio, acqui-
rere*, 25. 13.
 Parcere, *quibus fortuna peperce-
rat, quos fecerat superstites*, 8. 1.
 Parere naturæ, *ejus ductum sequi*,
 25. 17.
 Parere sibi amicitiam cum, *com-
parare*, 7. 7.
 Parma, *scutum breve, pelta tamen
majus*, 11. 1.
 Parricidarum exempla, 15. 6.
 Pars illa, *factio*, 25. 8. pars mea
 nulla erit in hoc, *mibi nihil tri-
buetur, adscribetur*, 7. 8.
 Parus insula oppugnata, 1. 7.
 Passus, 1. 4. *His veteres metiebant-
tur suos lapides & milliaria. Faci-
unt autem 1000 passus unum la-
pidem Ital. 4000 passus unum mil-
liare Germanicum*.
 Paterna provincia, *cujus præfectus
pater fuit*, 14. 1.
 Patientia apud Lacedæmones *sum-
ma laus dicitur*, 7. 11.
 Patriâ carere, *de exule*, 16. 1.
 Patrimonium, *possessiones*, 25. 12.
 Patroclus, 14. 2.

Paulus, *L. Æmilius Cos.* 23. 13.
 Paupertas Aristidis, 3. 3.
 Pausanias, 4. 1. Philippi *percussor*,
 21. 2.
 Pax non fida, *mala fide petita*, 18.
 4. *pacis vocabulo sæpe servitus
tegitur*, 15. 5.
 Pecunia publica, *de rebus*, 2. 2.
 Pellere patriâ, *in exilium*, 3. 1.
adversarios fugare, 23. 11.
 Pellicere aliquem, *sc. in suas par-
tes*, 18. 1.
 Pelopidas Theban. 16. 1.
 Peloponnesus, 10. 10.
 Pelta, *scutum parvum brevius*, 11. 1.
 Penates, *diî domestici*, 2. 7.
 Pendere alicui pecuniam ex fœ-
 dere, *numerare*, 23. 7. *pendebant
veteres monetas, quas nunc nume-
ramus; inde tot vocabula ponderum
in re monetariâ mansere*.
 Per se, si per virtus ponderanda
sit, *sive adscititio rerum exter-
narum pretio, sola*, 8. 1. per suos
veniam & concessu suorum, 18. 10.
 neque per senatum efficere po-
 tuit, *propter Senatum, Senatu ob-
stante*, 14. 2.
 Peræque, 25. 13.
 Peragere propositum, *pertere*,
 25. 22.
 Peragere, *de exercitu*, 18. 8.
 Percussa est potentia, *convulsa*,
 16. 2.
 Perdiccas, *Amynthæ & Euridices
filius*, 11. 3. *inter amicos Alex-
andri*, 18. 2.
 Peregrinatio, *aliàs demigratio*, 25. 2.
 Perfuga, *transfuga*, 14. 6.
 Pericle. 7. 2.
 Pericula, *labores belli, pugnae, præ-
lia*, 16. 4.
 Perinthus, *urbis Thraciæ*, 7. 7.
 Pernicies, *ad perniciem alicujus
cogitatum, pro morte, interitu,
exitu*, 14. 6.
 Peiorare de, *causam dicere*, 19. 4.
 Perpetua vita, *tota*, 24. 1. *oratio,
continua*, 15. 5.
 Persequi, *scil. narratione*, 24. 2.
 Persequi

- Persequi aliquem, *conari è medio tollere*, 7. 10.
- Perseverare, *de constantia conscientiae belli*, 14. 2.
- Persona, *significanter pro viro, cui administrationes publicae innituntur*, 16. 4.
- Pertinacia, *non recedentis, scil. à sententiâ*, 22. 1.
- Pertinere, *pertinet ad rem. respicit, refertur*, 7. 3.
- Pervulgata sunt nomina eorum, *publicè & vulgo nota celebrataque*, 15. 2.
- Peecestes corporis cultos Alexandri, 18. 7.
- Phalanx, 12. 1.
- Phalerens portus, 2. 6.
- Pharæ, 9. 1.
- Pharnabazus satrapes regius, 6. 4.
- Philenius, *res Hannibalis scripsit*, 23. 13.
- Philippense prælium, *quo Augustus scil. Brutum & Cassium devicit*, 25. 11.
- Philippides cursor, 1. 4.
- Philippus, *Alex. pater*, 11. 3.
- Philistus Historicus Syracusanus perducitur, 10. 3.
- Philocles, 7. 8.
- Philocrates, 10. 9.
- Phocion, 19. 1.
- Phœbidas Lacedæm. 16. 1.
- Phœnices viâi, 5. 2.
- Phryges, 14. 8.
- Phyle, *castellum Atticæ*, 8. 2.
- Pietas, *de affectu in necessitudines*, 25. 17.
- Pila lapidea, *in quâ incisa devotio Alcibiadis, mos infamiae consciscendæ usurpatus*, 7. 4.
- Piræci portus triplex, 2. 6.
- Pisander, 7. 5.
- Pisidæ, 14. 8.
- Pisistrati tyrannis, 1. 8.
- Pittacus, 8. 4.
- Placare aliquem, *reconciliare*, 4. 5.
- Plaga, *pro calamitate*, 18. 5. *plaga, vulnera*, 18. 4.
- Platæa, 4. 1. *Platæense prælium apud Platæas commissum*, 3. 2.
- Plato Parentum venit, 10. 2.
- Plebisцитum, *quod plebs sciscit, jure*, 7. 5.
- Pœcile, *ποικίλη, nomen porticus Atheniensis pictæ*, 1. 9.
- Pœni, *pro Carthagin.* 22. 2.
- Pœnus, *pro Hannibale*, 23. 10.
- Polybius, *historicus*, 23. 13.
- Polymnus, 15. 1.
- Polyperchon Cassandrum pellit, 19. 3.
- Pompeium qui, & cur sequenti, 25. 7.
- Ponderare, *considerare*, 8. 1.
- Pondus, *scil. armaturæ*, 11. 1.
- Ponere, *positum in publico, monumentum*, 7. 4. *tripodem ponere, doni causâ dedicare, est inter sollemnia*, 4. 1.
- Ponere, *existimare*, 7. 3. *poni in vitiis, pro vitio habere*, 15. 1. *ponere quid in maledictis, scil. inter alia hoc usurpare*, 14. 6.
- Portæ Ciliciæ, *clausura, aditus*, 14. 7.
- Possidere, *occupatum scil.* 2. 6. *possessio Siciliæ, imperium quod ibi obtinetur*, 20. 2.
- Post hominum memoriam, *ultimam præteriti temporis memoriam hæc locutione significamus*, 3. 1. *post, posteriore parte*, 18. 5.
- Postulare fidem, *juramentum*, 23. 2. *postulata facere, de consilio dato*, 7. 8.
- Potens, *magnus in civitate, alias, qui multum potest*, 17. 1.
- Potentia singularis, *imperium unius*, 10. 9.
- Potestas, *imperium*, 9. 1. *potestatem sui facere, offerre se pugnae*, 17. 3. *potestas ei facta manendi, jacturæ data*, 25. 11. *potestatem habere cujusvis conditionis, de eo cuius matrimonium & agnitas ubique oblata*, 25. 12.

Præ illo omnes parvi futuri, *con-
rectionem notat*, 18. 10.
Præbet hæc res suspicionem talis
hominis, *facit ut talis suspecte-
tur*, 17. 8.
Præcipere, *de responso oraculi*, 1. 1.
Præmia virtutis & meritorum,
flaturæ, 1. 6.
Præoccupare alterum, *insidiis tol-
lere*, 19. 4.
Præses, *publicorum conductores (man-
cupes) præses dabant*, 26. 6.
Præsidium, *conboy*, 15. 4. *præsi-
dia, milites præsidium agitantur*,
1. 4. *præsidii in eo non facti, de
eo qui hosti oppositus erat*, 13. 3.
Præsidio esse civibus suis, *jurare*,
9. 2.
Præstare alicui, *antecellere*, 12. 4.
Præter cæteros, *supra seu præ cæ-
teris*, 3. 1.
Prævidere, *excogitare, referre, con-
siliū*, 23. 9.
Premere adversarium, *capere, ver-
are*, 14. 7. *premi ab hoste, cum
in periculo & angustiis sumus*, 1. 3.
Principem in bello ponere ali-
quem, *gloriam, curam, consilioque
plurimum uti*, 23. 2.
Probare auctorem hunc, *huic po-
tissimum credere*, 2. 10.
Procacitas hominis, *audax petu-
lantia in incessendo*, 20. 5.
Procelle civiles, *bella, discordiæ*,
25. 10.
Procescit jam nox, *procreta erat*,
16. 3.
Procuratio reip. *de rerum actu &
administratione civili*, 8. 3.
Proditionis accusatus, *majestatis
sibi crimine*, 1. 7.
Progenies Herodis, *stirps*, 17. 1.
*In Propatulo, in loco aperto, & in
conspectu expedito*, 23. 9.
Propinquitas, *pro cognatione*, 10.
Propitia voluntas, *benivolentia seg-
nis*, 10. 9.
Prosequi, *comitari, deducere*, 7. 7.

Προσφύγειν, *veneratio Persarum, re-
gibus delata hoc vocabulo expre-
mebatur*, 9. 3.
Prosternere magnas opes, *profligare
ingentem hostium numerum*, 1. 5.
Proximus ætate, *qui proxime post
illa tempora vixerat, quibus hæc
acciderunt*, 2. 9.
Ptolemæus, *ex Alex. amicis postea
Ægypti imperio celebratus*, 18.
10.
Pubes, *adjectivè, priusquam puer
pubes esset*, 10. 4.
Publicæ bonæ, *confiscare*, 7. 4.
Pugna Cannensis, 23. 5.
Pulchrè aliquid facere posse, *de operâ
promptâ expeditâque serv.* 25. 13.
Pulvinar Paci factum, 13. 2. *In
pulvinum subicere, sc. super
quo accumbebat*, 16. 3.
Punicum bellum I. 22. 1. II. 12. 4.
Pydna, *urbs Maced.* 2. 8.
Pylæmenes, 14. 2.

Q.

Q Uærerè ab aliquo, *interro-
gare*, 3. 1.
Quirinalis collis, 25. 13.

R.

R Adices montis, *ima montis*,
1. 5.
Ratum, *nilil fore ratum, fore con-
stituisse non mansura de abroga-
tione*, 7. 10.
Recipere aliquem in fidem, *patro-
cinium*, 2. 3.
Referre mores alienos ad suos,
comparare, 15. 1.
Refringere dominationem, *absti-
nere ei, debilitare*, 6. 1.
E Regione, *ex adverso*, 1. 5.
Religiosè promittere, *magnâ fide
certâque*, 25. 15.
Relinquere, *transfugere*, 14. 6. *re-
linqui, superesse*, 1. 3.
Repentina vis, *tamultus*, 7. 3.
Repre-

Reprehendere seipsum, *damnare consilium suum*, 14. 5.

Res divina, *de sacris & immolatiæ hostiarum*, 23. 2.

Rebus Laconum studere, *partibus*, 16. 1.

Respicere, *considerare*, 1. 8.

Rhetor Atticus, *de legato*, 15. 6.

Rhodanus, *fluv.* 23. 4.

Rhodii configant cum Antiochi copiis, 23. 8.

Robur libertatis, *wires ad referendam libertatem*, 8. 2.

Romanum nomen, *populus*, 23. 7.

Romulus, 25. 20.

S.

Sabini, 24. 1.

Saguntus expugnata, 23. 3.

Salis plus quam sumptus habebat testum ædium, *hoc est, gratiæ*, 25. 13.

Samothracia, 25. 11.

Samus deficit ab Athen. 13. 3.

Sanctum habere, *inviolabile*, 17. 4.

Sardes, *pl. urbs Lyd.* 17. 3.

Sardinia, 24. 1.

Satiùs, *utiliùs, meliùs*, 16. 1.

Scapha, 23. 11.

Scipio, *P. Cornelius, ter vincitur ab Hannibale*, 23. 4.

Scismas, 14. 7.

Scribæ apud Romanos mercenarii, apud Græcos honorati, 18. 1.

Scytale, 4. 3. *clandestinæ literæ, quibus ad duces suos Lacedæmonii utebantur.*

Scythissa, 14. 1.

Secius, neque eò seciùs, *minùs*, 1. 2.

Seleucus, 18. 5.

Senescere, *pro potentiâ decrescente*, 7. 5.

Sentire, *intelligere*, 10. 2.

Sepulchrum Themistoclis, 2. 10.

Sergius Galba, 24. 3.

Serpentes veneratæ in Eumenis naves jactæ, 23. 10.

Servilius, *Cn. Geminus*, 23. 4.

Servilia, Bruti mater, 25. 11.

Sessores, *pro incedis*, 5. 2.

Sextertium centum millia, 1503 *Philippici*, 25. 8.

Sextus, 13. 1.

Sicilia, 7. 5.

Signum, 12. 3.

Simulare, *causam interponere*, 9. 5.

Sociale bellum, 11. 3.

Socrates, 7. 2.

Sophrasyme, 10. 1.

Sofilus, *Laced. Historicus, Hannib. præceptor*, 23. 13.

Stare ab aliquo, *pugnare pro aliquo*, 14. 6.

Stare pari fastigio, *gerere se pari modo*, 25. 4.

Stat mihi, *decretum est mihi*, 25. 21.

Strymon, *fluv.* 5. 2.

Studia gentis, *meret*, 7. 11.

Subalare telum, *quod sub alis gestatur*, 7. 10.

Summarerum, *totius imperii*, 10. 5.

Sylla Atticum frustra Athenis deducere cupit, 25. 1.

Symposium Platonicum, 7. 2.

Syracusa à Corinth. condita, 20. 5.

Sylamithres, 7. 10.

T.

Tænarus, 4. 4.

Talentum quinque, 3503 *Coronati*, 15. 4.

Tamphlyana domus, 25. 13.

Tarentum, 10. 2.

Taurus, *mons Lycie*, 9. 2.

Telum, *pro latro*, 15. 11.

Temerè, *jactè*, 25. 20.

Tessaron suffragia, *de Ostracismis*, 2. 8.

Thasii, 5. 2.

Thebæ, 7. 4.

Themistocles, 2. 1.

Theopompus Historicus, 11. 3.

Theramenes, 7. 5.

Thermopylæ, 2. 3.

Threxis.

Threſſa, *Thraciæ ſæmina*, 11. 3.
 Thraſybulus, 8. 1.
 Thucydides, 2. 1.
 Thurii, *pl. urbs*, 7. 4.
 Thyas Dynaſtes Paphlag. 14. 2.
 Timæus hiſtor. 7. 11.
 Timoleon, 20. 1.
 Timoleontium Gymnaſium Syrac. 20. 5.
 Timophanes frater Timoleontis, 20. 1.
 Timotheus Athen. 13. 1.
 Tiribazus Sardib. præſt. 9. 5.
 Tiſagoras, 1. 3.
 Tiſſaphernes, 9. 2.
 Tichrautes, Chiliarch. 9. 3.
 Titubare, *animi pendere, incertum eſſe quid agendum*, 18. 9.
 Tranſcurrere Hellespontum, *præternavigare, prætervehi*, 18. 3.
 Traſimænus, *flu.* 23. 4.
 Troas, *ager.* 4. 3.
 Troicum, bellum, 14. 2.
 Trophæum, *fructu armorum congerie adornari ſolitur poſt victoriam, in loco prælii*, 14. 8.
 Tunica hirta, 14. 3.
 Tuſculam municipium, 24. 1.

V.

Vacatio ætatis, uſus eſt vacatione ætatis, *de ſexagenario qui, ne cicilibus bellis & parti-*

bus ſe miſceret, excuſationem ætatis habuit, 25. 7.
 Vacuefacere, *inſulam, ejeſſis, ſc. incolis*, 5. 2. Vacuefactæ poſſeſſiones, *deſertæ, vaſtatæ bello*, 20. 3.
 Vadimonium, *eſt ſponſio ad certum diem ſe ſiſtendi in iudicio, vel per ſe, vel procurationem*, 25. 9.
 Valerius, *L. Flaccus*, 24. 2.
 Varro, *C. Terentius*, 25. 4.
 Venuſia, *urbs*, 23. 5.
 Verſuram facere, 25. 2.
 Vertens annus, *totus intelligitur*, 17. 4.
 Veſperacente cælo, 16. 2.
 Veſtis Medica, *ſerica*, 4. 3.
 Viâ Appiâ, 25. 22.
 Vicinitas, *pro vicinis*, 7. 10.
 Virtus, *pro fortitudine bellicâ*, 1. 4.
 Vitulina, *miſſa muneri*, 17. 8.
 Volumnius, 25. 9.

X.

Xerophon Socraticus, 17. 1.
 Xerxes mari & terrâ bellum inſert Europæ, 2. 2.

Z.

ZAcynthii adoleſcentes, 10. 9.
 Zama, *urbs Afr.* 3. 6.



PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

